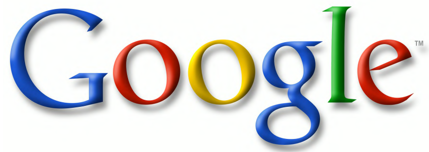

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AUGUSTUS AUSTEN LEIGH

PROVOST OF KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

A RECORD OF COLLEGE REFORM

EDITED BY

WILLIAM AUSTEN LEIGH

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WITH PORTRAITS

LONDON
SMITH, ELDER, & CO., 15 WATERLOO PLACE
1906

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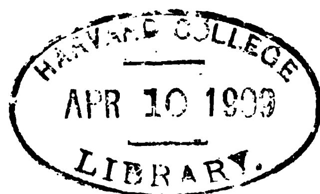

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PREFACE

SOME few words, if not of justification, yet at all events of explanation, seem to be called for, on the publication of this Memoir of my brother, the late Provost of King's. His relations and friends entertain to a very high degree affection and respect—one might almost say reverence—for his character. But they are aware that his nature was so well-balanced, and his life so uneventful, as to furnish no striking contrasts and no dramatic incidents; while his correspondence, though he wrote easily and with admirable lucidity, was hardly ever used by him for the expression of emotional feeling, and not often for humorous narrative. He may be described simply as a man of very considerable ability (sometimes apt to be underrated in consequence of his extreme modesty), of common sense so unerring as to amount to wisdom, and of a singular talent for goodness, purified and strengthened by religion and self-denial. He was all this; and he was also a delightful companion—cheerful, good-tempered, lovable. But these qualities, excellent as they are, do not in themselves

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furnish material for a detailed biography. If it is attempted, it is liable to degenerate into a panegyric; a thing which the subject of it would have particularly disliked, and which might perhaps tire the reader as much as it tired the Athenian to hear Aristides called 'the Just.'

His position, however, enabled him to do a very important work in the transformation of King's from a small and close College into one of the most important educational forces in the University of Cambridge; a work in which he was a principal—and for the first few years almost the sole—agent. It is thought, therefore, that the members of his College will feel an interest in reading an account (however imperfect) of this transformation, put in the personal shape of a Memoir of the Tutor and Provost whom they loved so well; and for them, and for his relations and friends, it is principally intended. It was necessary, however, in order to reach them all, that it should be published; and there are no doubt others, within or without the limits of his University, who will be glad to have a record of what was, in its sphere, a noble and complete life.

I am responsible, as Editor, for the whole of the book, but I have been so fortunate as to receive a good deal of help in its composition. The first two chapters have been written by another member of our family, and the third by Mr. Arthur C. James,

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formerly Fellow of King's, a contemporary and intimate friend of my brother. Scattered through the remaining chapters will be found frequent contributions, longer or shorter, from various friends, whose names are given where their contributions occur. I beg all these kind friends to accept this general expression of my most sincere and hearty thanks for their invaluable assistance; and I should wish to extend my thanks to those who, like Mr. F. C. Hodgson, have helped me with letters or advice.

I need hardly add that this Memoir of my brother could not have been written, and (if written) would not have been published, without the assistance and approval of his wife.

W. A. L.

February 1906.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

Augustus Austen Leigh, Provost of King's (1900) . . . . . . *Frontispiece*
(*From a photograph by Elliott & Fry.*)

Augustus Austen Leigh, aged 15 . . *to face page* 84
(*From a crayon drawing by Edmund Havell.*)

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AUGUSTUS AUSTEN LEIGH

CHAPTER I

THE AUSTEN FAMILY

Augustus Austen Leigh was born at Scarlets in Berkshire, July 17, 1840.

Kent had been the original home of the Austens, from whom he was descended. They had long been established in the neighbourhood of Tenterden and of Sevenoaks, and the senior branch of the family still possesses the estate of Capel Manor, near Horsemonden, in that county. The first Austen to quit Kent and to settle in Hampshire was George Austen, the great-grandfather of Augustus. He became Rector of the parishes of Deane and Steventon, 'not,' as has been recorded in his grandson's 'Memoir of Jane Austen,' 'any very gross case of plurality, for the two villages were little more than a mile apart, and their united populations scarcely amounted to three hundred.' His wife was Cassandra Leigh, a daughter of the Vicar of Harpsden, near Henley-on-Thames. In their early married life Mr. Austen took pupils. This he was well able to do, having

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himself received a good education at Tunbridge School and at St. John's College, Oxford, where he resided for some time as a Founder's kin Fellow. From his striking appearance he was known, during his Oxford days, as 'the handsome Proctor.'

One of the pupils at Steventon was the young son of Warren Hastings, who was himself an intimate friend of some members of the Austen family. This boy died young, and Mrs. Austen grieved for him as though he had been a son of her own.

George Austen's scholarship was sufficiently good to enable him to prepare two of his sons for the University, but his only claim upon the interest of the world, as an educator, rests on his having been the father of Jane Austen, who must have owed much to his training and influence. That he was an affectionate and beloved father is shown in a letter written by Jane at the time of his death at Bath, 1804, but only recently given to the world.[1] She says, 'Our dear father has closed his virtuous and happy life in a death almost as free from suffering as his children could have wished. . . . He was mercifully spared from knowing that he was about to quit objects so beloved and so fondly cherished as his wife and children ever were. His tenderness as a father who can do justice to?' She then speaks of the 'delightful serenity' of his face after death,

[1] *Jane Austen's Sailor Brothers.* By J. H. and E. C. Hubback. (John Lane.)

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and says, 'It preserves the sweet benevolent smile which always distinguished him.'

The warm domestic affection, which was a striking characteristic of the whole family, never failed to show itself when any emergency arose. George Austen could leave only a slender provision for his wife and daughters, but his sons were ready and eager, each according to his means, to provide a comfortable income for those whom one of them described as 'our dear trio.' The author of this phrase was Henry Austen, who indulged in a more elaborate style of letter-writing than that of his younger sister. In addressing his brother Francis at this time, he says, 'With the proudest exultations of maternal tenderness the Excellent Parent exclaimed that never were children so good as hers. She feels the magnificence of your offer, and accepts of half.' It certainly was neither in her parents' house, nor in those of her brothers, that Jane Austen met with the originals of Mr. and Mrs. John Dashwood, though the characters of these worthies may have struck her the more strongly from their total unlikeness to anything that could be found among her own nearest relations.

George Austen's family, as a whole, was very successful. Jane alone achieved literary fame; but the two youngest sons, Francis and Charles, both rose to the rank of Admiral, the former attaining in 1863 the senior position in the British Navy as Admiral of the Fleet. The second son, Edward, having

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been adopted by a distant cousin and having taken in consequence the name of Knight, became a much-respected squire, the owner of broad acres at Godmersham in Kent, and at Chawton and Steventon in Hampshire. Jane, who, like the rest of the family, paid long visits to Godmersham Park, thus became intimately acquainted with the best class of English society in more than one county.

George Austen's eldest son, James, the grandfather of Augustus, succeeded his father as Rector of Steventon. He was twice married. By his first wife, Anne, daughter of General and Lady Jane Mathew (Hampshire neighbours), he had one daughter, Anna, who became the wife of the Rev. Benjamin Lefroy, of Ashe. By his second wife, Mary, daughter of Nowes Lloyd, Rector of Enborne, near Newbury, he had one son, James Edward, always known as Edward Austen, and one daughter, Caroline, who died unmarried in 1880. James Austen, like his father George, was a good classical scholar, and his son has recorded of him that he was well read in English literature and wrote readily and happily, both in prose and verse. He was more than ten years older than his sister Jane, and had a large share in directing her reading and forming her taste. He was therefore easily able to teach his own boy, and even after the latter went to Winchester he read with him in the holidays, thus assisting him to maintain a high place in the school.

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That Winchester, and not Eton, was the school Edward Austen entered was due to a curious and, as must have appeared at the time, a very trifling cause.

Eton was the school first fixed upon, and the father and son set out together on their journey thither, in order that Edward's name might be entered on the school list. They were riding side by side down the narrow lane leading from Steventon to the high road and the stage coach, when a bramble, hanging across the way, caught in James Austen's clothes and tore them so badly as to make him unfit to travel. They therefore turned their horses round and rode home again. Before a second attempt could be made Mr. Austen heard some account of Eton which caused him to reconsider the matter and, in the end, to send his son to Winchester. The result of this interference on the part of the bramble was that Edward Austen had no connection with Eton, and knew but little of that school until he sent his fifth son to stand for Eton College some forty years later.

In the Austen family a love of scholarship was united with a love of sport. George Austen's tastes in this direction are not recorded, but they were probably strong; for his son James, as a young curate, kept a pack of hariers on an income of only three hundred a year. This was, for several reasons, a less surprising performance in those days than it would be in these. Country clergymen were accustomed to hunt, and sport, we are told, was diffused

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among many smaller establishments, instead of being concentrated into large ones. This was especially the case with hariers, of which most country squires and some tenant farmers each kept his own cry of hounds, according to his means. James Austen's pack was probably a small one, nor would he at any time of his life have fulfilled the idea of 'a sporting parson;' for, besides being conscientious and diligent in his clerical work, he was a man of strong domestic tastes, with a refined and cultivated mind. 'When a young man at Oxford he was the originator and chief supporter of a periodical paper called "The Loiterer," written somewhat on the plan of "The Spectator" and its successors, but nearly confined to subjects connected with the University. In after life he used to speak very slightingly of this early work, which he had the better right to do, as, whatever may have been the degree of their merits, the best papers in it had certainly been written by himself.'

James's mother, Cassandra Leigh, wife of George Austen, was a woman of robust health and of an original and humorous mind. Her letters are graphic and entertaining, entirely free from long words or any attempt at fine writing, being indeed as naturally and simply expressed as if they had been written yesterday. The same qualities appear in short and amusing verses which she occasionally composed on trivial events of the moment.

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That she was a good mother, beloved in her family, is evident from the eager care the sons showed for her comfort when she became a widow.

She died at the age of eighty-eight, having outlived her daughter Jane by ten years, and though, for the last fifteen years of her life, she could not be persuaded to quit her home at Chawton even for a single night, yet her bodily strength and the brightness of what she herself termed her 'sprack wit' lasted into extreme old age. An extract from one of her letters, dated nearly a hundred years ago, will show both the style of the writer and the common topic of the times,

July 1811.

'You are very bold to buy *Coloured Shoes*; last week I bought a Bombazeen, thinking I should get it cheaper than when the poor King was actually dead. If I outlive him it will answer my purpose; if I do not, somebody may mourn for me in it—it will be wanted for one or the other I daresay before the moths have eaten it up.'

As the King lived on for nine more years, and Cassandra for sixteen, it is possible that the moths had the 'Bombazeen' to themselves after all.

Cassandra was descended from the Leighs of Addlestrop, who afterwards inherited Stoneleigh Abbey in Warwickshire, and the love of fun and humour shown in her writings was a general characteristic of that branch of the family. Her uncle,

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Theophilus Leigh, for more than fifty years Master of Balliol College, was a noted wit, celebrated for his good sayings. Mrs. Thrale, in a letter to Dr. Johnson, says, 'Are you acquainted with Dr. Leigh, the Master of Balliol College, and are you not delighted with his gaiety of manners and youthful vivacity now that he is eighty-six years of age? I never heard a more perfect or excellent pun than his, when someone told him how, in a late dispute among the Privy Councillors, the Lord Chancellor struck the table with such violence that he split it. "No, no, no," replied the Master, "I can hardly persuade myself that he *split* the *table*, though I believe he *divided* the *Board*."' In his younger days, having been hissed in the theatre at Oxford for some unpopular act during his tenure of the proctorship, he politely retorted, 'Academici, laudamur ab *his*.' It must have been during the long term of Theophilus Leigh's Mastership that the front of Balliol towards Broad Street, now pulled down, was either built or repaired, as the Leigh arms were displayed upon them under the cornice near the Trinity gates. A longer life may be wished to the Austen and Leigh arms which were placed on Mr. Bodley's new buildings at King's College in 1891.

Cassandra's brother, James Leigh, inherited an estate from a cousin of the name of Perrot, which name he had therefore to add to his own. He, like his uncle Theophilus, was a man of shrewd wit, as is

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shown by various ingenious and entertaining *vers de société* which still survive. There appeared at one time to be a possibility that he might succeed to Stoneleigh Abbey and property under a will, of which the terms were so ambiguous that no one could foresee how they would be interpreted if brought into a court of law. To avoid a family lawsuit a compromise was effected. James Leigh Perrot resigned all claim to the Stoneleigh estates, and, receiving instead a considerable sum of money, he bought land in Berkshire, near the Bath road, midway between Maidenhead and Reading, and built upon it a house, called Scarlets. He had himself no children to inherit it, and the place was eventually bequeathed to the eldest branch of his sister Cassandra's family. James Austen, who died in 1819, did not live long enough to become its possessor, nor was it until 1836 that his son Edward, on the death of his great-uncle's widow, Mrs. Leigh Perrot, succeeded to the property. He had then been a clergyman for thirteen years, having taken Holy Orders not long after leaving Exeter College, Oxford. This choice of a profession seemed at the time likely to injure his material prospects not a little. Scarlets itself and a considerable part of Mr. Leigh Perrot's fortune were left entirely at the disposal of his wife. She had always been a warm friend to Edward, but showed her affection by wishing to see him a fashionable young layman, and his

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determination to the contrary displeased her so much that she threatened to do nothing more for him in the future. As this threat had not the effect of making him change his mind, she lived to change hers, and, as years passed on, forgave him for having followed his own course and conscience in the choice of a profession. The first four years of his clerical life he spent as curate of Burghclere, near Newbury. In 1828 he married Miss Emma Smith, daughter to Charles Smith of Suttons. in Essex, M.P. She was, on her mother's side, niece to Mrs. Chute, of the Vyne in Hampshire, and, as the Chutes and Austens were old friends and neighbours, there had been frequent opportunities of meeting in that charming and historic house.

The bride's father had long been dead. Her eldest brother, Sir Charles Smith, was now married, and living in the family home at Suttons. Mrs. Smith, with six daughters and two younger sons, had therefore removed to Tring Park in Hertfordshire. This place had formerly belonged to her uncle, Sir Drummond Smith, but she now inhabited it as a tenant. Though not such a palatial residence as it has since become, it was even then so spacious a house that she was able to invite the Edward Austens to join the large party it already contained, and to make it their home. The first five happy years of their married life were therefore spent at Tring, in a family circle which contained so much ex-

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cellence, talent, and attractiveness that a very strong mutual respect and attachment sprang up between the newcomer and his wife's many near relations—an attachment that endured till death, and became the inheritance of their children. Nor were these years idly spent. He undertook, as a volunteer, the spiritual charge of a neighbouring hamlet, and here he, with his wife as an assistant, worked diligently, until in 1834 a sudden failure of health rendered all clerical duty impossible. A severe affection of the throat—due, as was believed, to the damp air of the church that he had served—brought on so alarming a state of weakness that he was obliged to quit Tring for Hastings, and to lead the life of an invalid, being scarcely able to leave the sofa or to speak above a whisper. The gravest fears were at first entertained as to the possibility of recovery from this strange malady, one that must have called for much faith and patience from a man who had always led an especially vigorous and active life, and whose charming voice, both in conversation and in reading, had been an unfailing source of pleasure to his friends. It was long before this pleasure was restored to them; for, though health returned in the course of a twelvemonth, four years elapsed before the vocal chords were sufficiently strengthened for reading and preaching to be once more possible.

These silent years were spent partly in his old

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neighbourhood at Speen, near Newbury, and partly at Scarlets. On removing to the latter house in 1836, he, in accordance with the terms of the will under which he held it, added the name of Leigh to that of Austen.

The first attempt he made to use his recovered voice for clerical work marks an interesting date in the social history of the country. It was in 1838 that the Great Western Railway, then a new and wonderful sight, was being laid down between Maidenhead and Reading. This part runs through the deepest and most important cutting in the whole course of the line, and its construction detained for some time a large number of workmen in the neighbourhood of Scarlets. Mr. Austen Leigh volunteered to give them a Sunday service, and this he did at Ruscombe, near Twyford, so long as it continued to be useful.

At that time there was great need in his neighbourhood for some more permanent effort of the same nature. He was the originator of a plan to build a church, and to form an ecclesiastical district, not far from his own home, offering to serve the church himself as a pure labour of love. Knowl Hill in the parish of Hurley was the spot chosen for the purpose. Here he greatly assisted in the erection of a church and of a parsonage house for his curate, and built at his own sole charge an excellent school and a teacher's house attached to it.

His incumbency lasted for sixteen years, and, in

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the course of this time, Knowl Hill, in which, owing to its great distance from church or schools, the people had been especially wild and ignorant, was transformed by degrees into an orderly and well-cared-for district.

It was here that his great gifts as a preacher first became widely recognised. His sermons soon attracted large congregations. They were logical, practical, and spiritual, and their subject, however deep or high, would be set before his hearers with such well-arranged arguments and in such clear and simple language that the young as well as the older, the educated and the uneducated alike, could listen with unfailing interest and profit. Natural grace of style and much charm of voice and manner contributed towards the deep impression which, as a preacher through many years, he never ceased to produce. But to be heard he had to be sought at home, in his own parish. His dislike to being looked upon as a 'popular preacher' was very strong, and it was only with difficulty that he could ever be induced to occupy other people's pulpits. When he did so it was generally in response to a summons from his Bishop and close personal friend, Samuel Wilberforce, whom he served as Rural Dean, first of Reading and afterwards of Windsor, for about five and twenty years. A single testimony, selected from multitudes that were borne after his death, shall be quoted. It comes from a man whose own well-

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known name commanded admiration and affection in no common degree—Hugh Pearson, Vicar of Sonning and Canon of Windsor. He wrote: 'I had the highest respect and regard for your father. I feel that I have lost a friend who for the more than thirty years that I have been here has been unchanging in his kindness. I owe him indeed a deep debt of gratitude. I have always thought him one of the *best*, as he certainly was one of the ablest, men I have known. No preacher ever so powerfully affected me as he did in former years.'

To Reading he had another tie from the deep interest which he took in its hospital. He had been one of its founders in 1839, and for the next thirty-five years he was seldom absent from its weekly Board. As to these and similar duties he joined those which generally fall to the lot of a country gentleman, and was also a most hospitable host, and the daily instructor of many sons, it is evident that the number and variety of his occupations were such as to require a very quick and vigorous mind for their successful accomplishment.

In everything he was well seconded by a wife whose life was devoted to the service of others. Her husband and children were her first objects; but her remarkable kindness of heart and her ready sympathy extended far beyond the limits of her own family, and it is not too much to say that she was honoured and beloved by all who had the

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happiness of knowing her. This was but natural, for she was a friend to all classes. To the poor she was most compassionate, visiting them constantly, and relieving their wants with open-handed but unostentatious charity, while to the rich she showed a charity rarer and more difficult to exercise—charity of thought and speech. In a manner peculiar to herself she was able to combine much good sense and a most scrupulous regard for truth with a fixed habit of not only speaking, but actually believing, the best of everyone. Her own excellent education made it easy for her to overlook, and at times to assist in, the education of her children. In religion she was their earliest teacher, and the bright example of her unselfish life was always at hand to enforce the earnest instructions they received from her lips.

These were the parents under whose care and influence Augustus Austen Leigh grew up. That he entirely appreciated the blessing they had been to him is shown by words which he wrote many years after the death of both father and mother. In answer to a letter of congratulation, written to him on his election to the Provostship of King's College, in which his parents had been mentioned, he says: 'If my father and mother do not know what has happened, at least *I* know that it is very much owing to their teaching and example, for which I may well thank God.'

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CHAPTER II

HOME AND CHILDHOOD

'He has a very nice, affectionate, sociable disposition, and is a general favourite.' This was the description Augustus's mother wrote of him as a very little boy. She also records the earnest attempts he made, when just two years old, to console his old nurse in her sorrow for the death of a younger baby brother who died at the age of six months. Among his own 'Recollections,' which many years afterwards he wrote for a friend, the first is equally characteristic. 'When I was three years old I recollect walking about one day very proud of a badge of good conduct hung round my neck by the governess. I doubt whether she had taught me anything—perhaps I was incapable of learning—for I must confess that another governess who came afterwards expressed her fear that I was "rather wanting."' The verdict of this newcomer caused great amusement in the family. Its author must have been unable to distinguish between shyness and stupidity. With strangers he was a shy retiring boy, but with his brothers and sisters he was happy and merry, not

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usually talkative, but showing, even in his nursery days, a turn for fun and mimicry which they found extremely entertaining. Though he never mimicked in later life, it was probably not that he could not, but that he would not do so; indeed, he refused to go on with it while still a child. He may have been told of its dangers, and to so tender a conscience as his this may have been sufficient to make him regard it as wrong.

To all serious teaching he was a most attentive and obedient listener, and habits thus formed, almost in infancy, became to him so completely a second nature that it might easily have been supposed he had been born free from the faults to be found in most children, and that Wordsworth's description had been written to meet his case. Not only was 'the child the father of the man,' but his days were, as certainly, 'bound each to each by natural piety.'

He always regarded his home as a very happy one. The aim of his parents was to be equally affectionate and just to all their children, without allowing themselves to show, or to feel, individual preferences; and the experience of such a home, where no one is given undue prominence, but all are expected to obey authority and to give and take among themselves, may be as good a preparation as can be found in any private school for fitting boys to enter the larger world of Eton or Harrow. In

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this case it served also to provide a plentiful store of happy memories for after life.

Augustus, as the sixth son, belonged to the trio of younger brothers long known to their elders as 'the little boys,' the other members of the trio being his next elder brother Edward, to whom he looked like a twin in size, and, at a greater distance of age, his youngest brother Willie. The last-named was at this time too young to join in his brothers' games on anything like equal terms, but he has a grateful remembrance of much kind and patient instruction in the art of cricket given to him by Augustus after Edward had gone to Eton. For their regular games the two latter had a constant companion in their next older brother Arthur, and the three played their little cricket matches together on a pleasant lawn, where they were watched by a large white dog of the hound species, the only fieldsman they possessed, for he had been trained, when the ball was hit under the bushes of the surrounding shrubbery, to go in and fetch it out in his mouth. This dog, Sentinel, was one of the children's greatest friends, and was believed by them to be of super-canine intelligence. When one of their elder brothers, Spencer, to whom he chiefly belonged, first went to Harrow, Sentinel was heartbroken, and would make solitary expeditions in the neighbourhood, calling at various houses to see if he could find his friend in any of them. When, in a few

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weeks' time, this brother's first exeat from Harrow took place, Sentinel's joy was indescribable, and he was willing to let him go back, being apparently satisfied that he was alive, and would, some day or other, appear again. Sentinel's merits were sung by the children's father in one of the games of 'Noun Verses' frequently played at Scarlets in the winter evenings. The question that he drew had been written by Augustus, 'Which of our dogs is best, next to Sentinel?' and the noun that he drew at random to be introduced into the answer was 'Humbug.' Mr. Austen Leigh, with a reminiscence of the well-known lines on Handel and Buononcini, wrote as follows:

> If merits should be rightly reckoned,
> To Sentinel there is no second;
> 'Twere Humbug to assign a place
> To dogs of an inferior race;
> 'As if much difference there could be
> 'Twixt Tweedledum and Tweedledee.'

Of this faithful friend it may be recorded that he lived to extreme old age, and died universally beloved and regretted.

As the little boys grew older they were admitted by degrees to take part in the games of cricket played by the seniors of the party on a superior ground in the meadows, and in course of time they played in matches on the Wargrave cricket field, beside 'the Loddon slow, with waving alders crowned.'

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Augustus was fearless at games, and, if hard knocks came in his way at cricket, could take them without a murmur; but there was one thing that he greatly feared, and this was, falling short in any measure of what he should have done, or might have been expected to do. Once, when as a small boy he was playing in a match with his elder brothers, and fielding out near the wicket, a sharp hit sent the ball straight at him. For an instant he caught, but had at once to drop it. It must have stung his hands considerably, but he made no sign. When, however, the game was over and his father, who had admired the little boy's pluck in standing up to such a hit, said, 'Why, Augustus, I thought for a moment you were going to hold that ball,' he supposed that blame rather than praise was intended, and burst into tears accordingly.

His peaceable and gentle disposition made him a favourite companion to all, but he was so quiet and unobtrusive that these qualities were, for a long time, more felt than noticed or praised. Everyone wished for him, and he was ready to please everyone, including his teachers. His lessons were done with the most scrupulous care, and his punctuality in going to them was proverbial. While others were prolonging their play up to the last moment of freedom, Augustus, as the lesson hour drew near, might be seen seated on the top step of the staircase, his eyes fixed upon the clock, in order that at the first warning sound he

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might rush off, and enter the schoolroom before it should have finished striking. Such extremity of virtue may not be a perfectly sure road to popularity among the young, but it was excused in Augustus, by companions who were well aware that he only practised, and never preached. Natural modesty, as well as the candid remarks of five elder brothers, would always have been at hand to keep him from lapsing into the ranks of the 'unco guid.' Had either of these failed (of which there was no fear) he possessed an additional safeguard in the quick sense of humour, that saving salt of life, with which nature had amply endowed him. He dearly loved the comic element in books, and, as a small boy, spent many happy hours, lying on the floor, his favourite reading place, buried in the pages of the first edition of 'Pickwick.' This volume was reduced to such tatters by successive readers that their father declared at last 'it ought to be forwarded to the author, to show him what delight he must have given to the world, since a copy could be thus read to pieces in a single family.'

Scenes from Dickens's works were occasionally performed as parts of charades at Scarlets. In these, when he grew older, Augustus was one of the best actors. He had also a love both for music and drawing. The former was not cultivated in him as a boy, but, in common with the rest, he learned drawing from their mother, who was an admirable

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artist in pencil, her sketches from nature being of unusual excellence and beauty. Her sixth son's favourite subjects were of a different description. For his own amusement he always chose hunting scenes and battlefields, which were drawn with great spirit and a good deal of talent. Such numerous pieces of paper would fill the various blotting-books with sketches representing knights in armour engaged in mortal combat, legs and arms being liberally strewn over the foreground, that in some families it would have been considered certain their author was intended by nature to be a man of war. At Scarlets, however, a peaceful spirit prevailed, and none of the seven sons became either soldier or sailor. This, at a later period, would be made an occasion of wonder, if not of reproach, by patriotic friends who could hardly be appeased by hearing that the family at a certain date had produced six volunteers. Of these, Augustus in his College days was one.

In his classical education the invariable family custom was followed. He began Latin the day after his seventh birthday, and Greek exactly two years later. The boys worked with their father for half an hour before breakfast, and for an hour and a half or two hours, according to their ages, in the course of the morning, and had a lesson to be prepared by themselves in the evening. This was in addition to other lessons done in the schoolroom, but they were

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not overworked, and sufficient time was left for games and riding. Mr. Austen Leigh taught all his children to ride, and took care that they had a good supply of horses and ponies for riding and hunting. Hunting had been one of the principal enjoyments of his own younger days, and his knowledge of horses and hounds was remarkably sound and extensive. As a young man he knew the names and performances of every hound in the Vine Hunt, the pack with which he generally went out. Later in life he learnt to tolerate the Queen's Buckhounds for his sons, as an occasional substitute for better things, but he never could speak of a 'drag' without contempt. This inborn love of sport caused him to take deep interest in everything that happened in the hunting-field during the Christmas holidays. In the summer, cricket, and how to convey his seven cricketing sons to and from the many matches which he loved, when time could be found, also to witness himself, became a matter of equal solicitude.

Anxious, however, though he was to give his sons pleasure in their holidays, nothing was allowed to interfere with the lessons in Latin and Greek in their younger days at home. His success as a teacher occasionally produced some inquiries as to the particular methods he pursued. He would reply that he had none, beyond that of making lessons short, and requiring his boys to give their whole attention to them while they lasted. The rules were

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doubtless good, but still more effective must have been his own personal qualifications for the work of instruction, his clearness of thought in grasping a subject, his clearness of language in imparting it to others, and a natural liveliness of mind which assisted in making a lesson interesting both to himself and to his hearers.

At Oxford he had taken a second class. It was believed by his tutor and his friends that, had he persevered in his original intention of taking up the books necessary for a first class, he would have obtained it. It is probable that his knowledge of the classics was hardly accurate or advanced enough to have enabled him to prepare a son for a Scholarship at either University; but his genuine love of Latin and Greek authors, joined to the qualities of mind described above, made him an admirable guide in the earlier stages of a classical scholar's career. He had two other invaluable qualities for a teacher—regularity of habit and the personal interest he took in his boys. The lessons, as has been said, were to be short, but they must be as far as possible invariable; hardly any engagements of his own were allowed to produce a whole holiday, and any absence from home of either tutor or scholar was to be filled up with lessons to be prepared, or Latin verses to be written.

His personal interest was shown by carefully weighed commendation or disapproval. One of his

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sons remembers painfully a lesson in Virgil on the wooden horse of Troy. The rope '*funem*' which drew the fatal monster he unfortunately confused with '*funus*' and translated 'sorrowful thing.' It was not his first mistake, and 'You have made a sorrowful thing of this lesson,' said his father severely; but no penalty was exacted. A reproof administered by a parent who loved them, and who was their frequent companion out of school hours, was an effectual punishment, and none of a different sort was ever administered.

This method of instruction, it will be inferred, was as far as possible removed from any form of cramming; hence it was easy for his sons, when they went to Eton, to keep on level terms with boys of equal or perhaps greater ability, who had been subjected to a more forcing process. They had also the advantage of knowing that he continued to take a keen interest in their work. He would look over, and comment upon, prize verse exercises, and his preference was always for clearness of expression as against rhetorical ornament.

His children enjoyed a different kind of education by being much downstairs, where they could listen to the conversation of their elders, and often had the advantage of hearing their father read aloud. This he did to perfection, whether the subject were grave or gay. It was generally the latter when his children formed the audience, and great was their pleasure in

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Walter Scott's and Jane Austen's novels, rendered in a manner that made the scenes and the actors live and move before them. In regard to their great-aunt's books his knowledge came from the fountain head, for he had heard her read them aloud, and had learnt from her own lips how to make her characters—as she once said—'speak as they should do.' Scarlets was much connected with her and hers. In past days she had often stayed there with her uncle and aunt, and now the remaining members of her generation came as visitors to the nephew who was in time to become their sister's biographer. These were her four surviving brothers, Mr. Knight, the Rev. Henry Austen, and the two youngest brothers, Admiral Francis and Admiral Charles Austen. Here came also her second self, her sister Cassandra, whose latest visit was paid that she might stand sponsor at a christening which took place when Augustus was a very little boy. Her appearance could not fail to make an impression on the minds of children who had never seen anyone like her before. She was a pale, slight old lady with silver hair, very dark eyes, a high aquiline nose, and a kind smile. She wore a large drawn bonnet shading her face, and a cloak which touched the ground, both being made of black satin, and she looked like the benevolent godmother belonging to some fairy tale.

A large variety of other visitors also came, and

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among them were many kind uncles and aunts, the greater number of these being related to the family on their mother's side. More than forty first cousins also came in turns, some of them being frequent guests. These constant additions to the domestic party enlarged the children's ideas, and showed them something of the greater world in a manner which cannot well fall to the lot of boys who have to leave home early for a private school.

Through their elder brothers' accounts the younger ones were also able to learn what life at a public school would be like, and once two of them had a short glimpse of it on their own account.

In his 'Recollections' Augustus writes: 'In July 1850 Edward and I stayed with our aunt, Mrs. Lefroy, in Winchester, and I remember being struck by the habits of Winchester boys; especially by seeing the big ones wading across the chalk streams which form branches of the Itchen with smaller boys on their backs, and occasionally depositing their burdens in the middle of the stream. As Cholmeley' (his eldest brother) 'had left Commoners not very long before, we looked with the more interest at Winchester manners.'

When the time for the eldest of the three younger boys to leave home began to draw near, their father felt doubtful how to act. He had sent his four elder sons to Winchester, Harrow, and Cheltenham, and three out of the four had afterwards entered

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Balliol College. He wished to give their younger brothers equal advantages, but feared that this might be out of his power, until he determined to follow the advice of a friend and connection of the family, and to send his fifth son to stand for Eton College, for which there was by this time a serious competitive examination. The friend who gave this counsel, which in the end directed the whole course of the three boys' lives, was Mr. John Wilder, Rector of Sulham, Berkshire. His was a well-known and much honoured name at Eton, where, as boy, Master, and finally Fellow and Vice-Provost, he was a familiar figure to so many successive generations of Etonians that in 1889 he was able to begin a sermon in the chapel with these remarkable words: 'Eighty years ago—to-day—I first entered Eton.'

That Edward, the first of the brothers to be sent to try for College, would meet with success at once was not supposed to be possible. He was only just eleven years old, there were but two months for special preparation after the decision was made, and his birthday fell at a bad time of the year, in May, so that he would be competing with boys some of whom might be as much as nine or ten months his seniors. But, as he had never been through any examination, it was thought best that he should learn what this one would be like before making a serious attempt in the following year. When his father took him to stay at Mr. Wilder's house in the

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Cloisters for the examination, and the result was announced, no one felt more surprise than he on hearing that his little boy's name had been placed tenth on a list of eighteen boys selected from sixty candidates. It seemed, however, certain that ten vacancies would not occur during the next twelve months, and that he would have to stand again. For this his father prepared him at home until the beginning of the next summer half, and then, by Mr. Wilder's advice, he sent him to Eton as an Oppidan that he might become accustomed to the school and its work before facing what was at that time the rather rougher ordeal of life in College. The result was successful. In the next examination his name was chosen to come out at the head of the list, but was not published, as the tenth vacancy for 1850 occurred a few hours earlier, and he entered College on that vacancy.

Meanwhile Augustus was being prepared at home for a similar attempt in 1852. Mr. Austen Leigh was always unwilling to expect too much from his sons, and, as Augustus was supposed to be careful and accurate in his work, rather than brilliant, he looked forward to his taking a lower place than that which Edward had obtained, especially as his birthday fell in July, which was the worst possible month of the year. They went again for the examination to the house of the same kind friend. When it was over, and a day or two of expectation had intervened,

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the list was published, and Mr. Wilder brought it to the waiting father. He began an anxious scrutiny, from the names in the middle of the list downwards, only to say in dismay, 'But I can't see it anywhere.' The answer was, 'Look at the top.' There he looked —and found it. They went in search of Augustus, who was in the upper Cloister gallery, playing at stump and ball with another boy. He was called and was shown his own name, heading a list of twenty-one successful candidates selected out of forty-nine competitors. He looked at it in silence, with a quiet smile, and returned, without a word, to finish his game.

Three years later the youngest son, Willie, joined his two brothers in College, having entered as second on the list for 1855. The remarkable evenness of powers and performances which they showed throughout school and College life may have been partly due to the thoroughness of the grounding which all had received in equal measure in their work at home.

With the entrance of his seventh son to College at Eton the father's task as classical teacher ended, and this chapter of their home life was closed.

It was during the first year of Augustus's time at Eton that a great change was made in the life at home by the removal of his family from Scarlets to Bray Vicarage, their father having accepted the living of Bray from Bishop Wilberforce. It was a very extensive and important parish, containing in

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1852 only one large, old, unrestored church, standing on the extreme border of a parish that stretched three and four miles away from it in several directions. With the same energy that had created the parish of Knowl Hill, Mr. Austen Leigh set to work at Bray, and before his death in 1874, three additional churches and schools had been built, the parish church had been completely restored, and large additions had been made to the vicarage.

Though his family was thus removed from a happy home, with its familiar haunts, and though they lost the spacious surroundings of Scarlets, yet the change brought some advantages to Augustus and his brothers. Bray Vicarage stands on the banks of the Thames, one mile below Maidenhead Bridge, and is distant from Eton about six miles by road or river, while a shorter route over Dorney Common brings a pedestrian from Eton to the river bank on the Buckinghamshire side, opposite to Bray, in a little more than four miles. This made it possible for the boys occasionally to run over between 'absences,' sometimes accompanied by a friend, to spend half an hour at home. In their summer holidays the river itself was a great pleasure to all, though it never diminished the devotion of any to the cricket field, nor did it turn the Etonians into 'Wet Bobs' at school. They gained in cricket by becoming members of the Maidenhead Cricket Club, which was, in their day, unusually strong for a country club,

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very good matches being played on its ground. For some years a match with Balliol and a match with Eton were among the regular fixtures. Maidenhead was the only outside place where the Eton Eleven was allowed to play, and this permission was given because the ground was, like that of Lord's, a lively one, and, as the Eton ground was at that time very slow, it was thought well that the school eleven should have some experience of a quick ground before meeting Harrow at Lord's itself.

Family life remained the same at Bray that it had been at Scarlets. The circle was unbroken, and the seven sons were still accustomed to return home regularly, at first from school and College, and afterwards from their various positions and callings, to visit their parents, and their two sisters, during the next twenty-two years, until their father's death in September 1874 brought the life at Bray Vicarage to a conclusion.

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CHAPTER III[1]

ETON

It was in September 1852 that Augustus Austen Leigh began his life in College at Eton, having obtained the first place on the 'Indentures' at the Election held in the previous July. In those days this annual event was the most important occasion in the academical year at Eton; the date being fixed by statute and formally 'declared' each year. Election Saturday was marked by speeches, the boat procession to Surley Hall, and College festivities, in the same way as the Fourth of June, 'only rather more so,' and it was naturally considered the pleasanter day of the two as work was over for the school, and the relaxation of the holidays was imminent.

The time which he spent in College—viz. until Easter 1859—was a most enjoyable one, and he was very successful in his studies, mainly owing to the careful training of his excellent abilities by his father. Of the seven sons whom Mr. Austen Leigh taught and sent out to various public schools, the fifth, Edward, who resigned the Lower Mastership of Eton in 1905, had already preceded Augustus

[1] Written for the Editor by Mr. Arthur C. James.

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into College, and it was noticed by his companions at Eton, and with some satisfaction, that the excellent Vicar of Bray, having already patronised Winchester, Harrow, &c., did not go further afield, but sent his youngest boy also to join the other two at Eton. All three became in due course Fellows of King's College, Cambridge.

Many of the details of his Eton life, now to be recorded, rest on a very interesting authority. There exists a series of 'Recollections' addressed by Augustus himself in after life to one to whom he wished to confide his experiences and impressions; and leave has been given by the recipient to make free use of them in the present chapter.[1] The following extracts will be interesting:

'It was a rougher life then than it is now, but there was very little bullying. The twenty-one youngest boys slept in one room, called Long Chamber, each possessing a bed and a bureau, and there was one large fireplace in the middle of one side of the apartment. At five minutes before ten every night a Sixth Form boy used to come in and walk up and down so that there might be silence, during which we could say our prayers. After he went out we did not go to sleep at once, but boys were called upon, in turn, either to sing a song or to tell a story. I think, as a matter of fact, that those who wished

[1] These *Recollections* have been already quoted in the last chapter, and will be used again later on.

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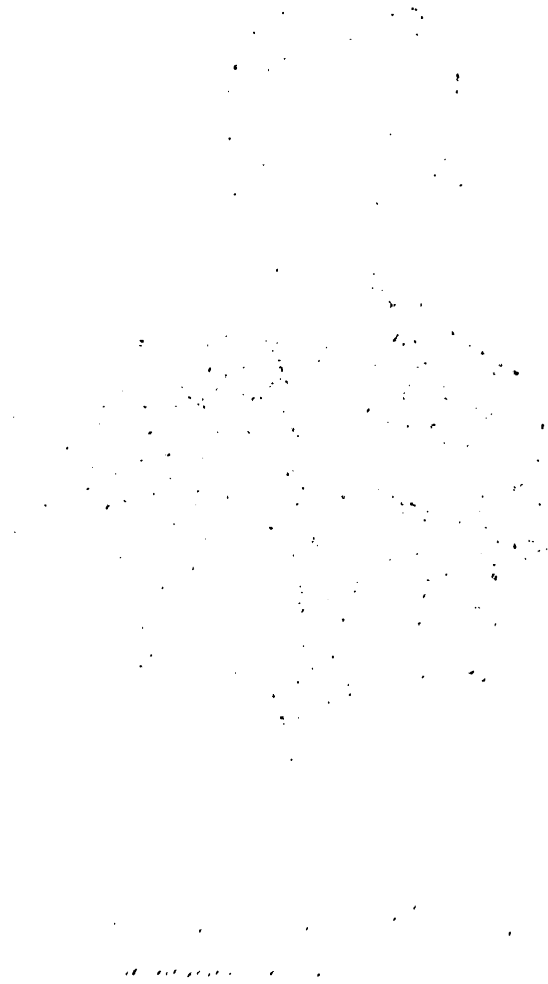

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Augustus Austen Leigh, aged 15

From a crayon drawing by Edmund Havell

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to go to sleep could do so, and that those who wished could remain awake. One of my earliest recollections in Long Chamber is that one night the second captain of College came in and ordered one of the boys to get out of his bed. This boy had been guilty of bullying a fag, and then and there, in his nightshirt, he received what seemed to me an awful licking.

'In the morning we used to go up some stairs to a tower to wash, carrying our sponges &c. in a drawer out of our bureau. It was not a luxurious process, especially as the windows of the tower had generally lost a good deal of their glass. Baths were unknown, except in the Thames, and on Saturday nights we put our feet in hot water, using a very solid sort of footpan which we kept under our beds for that purpose. Some of us, when we first got up, had to call our masters, for we were all Lower Boys for the first year, and sometimes longer.

'Fagging was, on the whole, a great blessing to us. First of all the Sixth Form boys used to prevent the big Fifth Form boys from bullying their juniors, and then, if one's master was good-natured, as mine was, and as they generally were, one was allowed to sit in his room in the evening, and he used to help one in school work. You see, we had no rooms of our own, while in Long Chamber, but only a very small study, which was shared with two other boys, and which was by no means a "castle," if anyone wished to invade it. After a year or two I got a room to myself, and

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then gradually moved on to larger and better rooms. But there were only six in College which boasted of fireplaces, the rest being warmed with hot water.

'It was, of course, a great thing for me when I first went to Eton to have an elder brother there, especially one who was himself successful and popular—though, so far as size went, no bigger than myself—indeed he was so small for his age that he was called "Flea" by a slight change of his name. I, on the contrary, was considered to be fat, and was accordingly nicknamed "Joe" after the fat boy in "Pickwick." I don't think this was the result of too much food—at any rate during my first years in College—for I had always been fanciful about eating at home, and when I began school life believed that I could not eat mutton, which was the only meat supplied to us in Hall except on Sunday, and it must be confessed that in those days it did not appear in a very attractive form to the small boys who sat at the bottom of the lowest table.

'My father had taught us so well that school work, always excepting mathematics, did not give us much trouble, and we generally managed to bring home some prizes. If I were to tell you the school hours and the number of half-holidays you would think we were very idle, but the fact was that more than half our work had to be done out of school, either in the way of preparing lessons, or doing the exercises which formed a large part of the old Eton

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education. Then we had extra work with our Tutor, and as we got higher up there was always some important examination, for Collegers, not far ahead, for which we had to read as best we could. The really idle boys got their friends to do their exercises for them.

'My first Tutor was a rather formidable person, afterwards Fellow and Bursar of Eton College, W. A. Carter, and I can remember the feeling of nervousness with which I used to stand by his desk while he looked over my verses (and the relief it was when I found they had been looked over in my absence), watching to see whether he would find any bad mistakes, under which he would make very black marks with a very broad-nibbed pen. However, he was a teacher who made one learn carefully, and who took a real interest in his pupils, which sometimes showed itself in the shape of an expedition. I remember a long day's skating on Virginia Water, during the Crimean winter, which we owed to him, and, I think, another on the water in Stoke Park.

'Early in 1857 he became Lower Master, and it was not etiquette for the Lower Master to have College pupils, because he had so much to do with examining the Collegers. So we three—for Edward had just not left Eton—transferred ourselves to a much younger master, who had just arrived fresh from King's, viz. E. D. Stone. He was an excellent scholar and anxious to make us the same; but we were on much more familiar terms with him, and

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Edward had been his fag. This change of Tutor affected us much more than a change of Headmaster that took place during my first Christmas holidays, which were preternaturally long, because we were sent home before the proper time, owing to the floods which covered the playing fields and made football impossible, and even invaded the streets of Eton; and when the time came to go back to school in January, no Headmaster had been chosen. You can imagine our joy! But our connection with Headmasters was but slight, till we reached the division which he himself taught. In College, however, we did see rather more of him than the Oppidans did, as he came in every evening to read prayers, and occasionally, at other times, when his visits were by no means welcome, at least to those boys who were playing forbidden games of cards, or making an unreasonable amount of noise.'

The writer himself can have had no reason to fear such visits, if we may judge from a letter written home by his brother Edward: 'The Headmaster came into our room the other evening and found Augustus writing out "derivations" from the Dictionary. He asked him if they were wanted for his lesson next day. Augustus said, "No, but perhaps they might be wanted some day." Goodford laughed. I daresay he thought to himself there was not another boy in the school who would have done the same.'

The 'Recollections' continue: 'At other times

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an interview with the Headmaster had very serious consequences; and if a message was brought to any division during school that a particular boy was to "stay" afterwards, we knew that this meant a private interview of the most painful kind. But it was a not uncommon experience in those days with many boys, and it was the duty of the two lowest Collegers in Fifth Form—so that we all had to do it in turn—to attend at these executions and hold the victim. During the time that I held this not very dignified post, I actually knew of one case in which the wrong boy was flogged, the name on the "complaint" being so badly written that it was misread and taken by the Headmaster to be that of another boy!'

The writer of this chapter does not recollect the instance alluded to, though he does remember the case, at an earlier date, of a boy who was frequently desired to stay, and who found that a very excellent cousin of his, of the same name, was one day required. Actuated by a family interest, and perhaps by some secret pleasure at seeing that Nemesis had her rights, he went to witness the execution for the first time *ab extra*, in which he had so often played a more prominent part. When the scene was over he was about to retire, when the Headmaster, it is said, catching sight of his wonted sacrifice, called him forward, and, without listening to his protestations, served him in the usual manner, to which he submitted with his accustomed grace.

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The 'classical' anecdote on the subject of mistaken flogging, of course, is that told of Dr. Keate, who is said to have flogged a whole list of boys whose names had been supplied for a paternal interview of another kind, preparatory to their Confirmation.

However this may be, and it must be confessed that the office of 'holder down' was not that which one would have chosen for Augustus, however much he may have adorned it, it had certain advantages which he much appreciated; for it enabled him to get out of school a quarter of an hour before other boys, and, if the 'Bill' was not too large, to run and secure a fives-wall afterwards (of which the culprits themselves might all have an equal chance); for this was in those days an advantage keenly coveted, as there were very few courts and many competitors; thus illustrating the celebrated line of the Eton poet:

> Alas, regardless of their doom
> The little victims play;

sometimes, possibly, culprit and lictor together.

The 'Recollections' thus proceed:

'Though we really were rather industrious in College, yet even there we thought quite as much of our games as of our work, and perhaps the greatest distinction which I achieved during my first year was winning the "Long Chamber Steeplechase." We had to run across country between one and two miles, and jump over, or rather into, a great many

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brooks. Perhaps it did me more good to learn to swim, which I did in my first summer half. I had no intention of becoming a wet-bob—*i.e.* of taking to rowing as a business—for I came of a family of dry-bobs, and fully meant to stick to cricket. Still, I felt it was unmanly not to be able to swim, and, besides, as I lived upon the Thames, it would have been decidedly inconvenient.

'The spring half was the dullest time. There was no game except fives, and at that time there were not nearly enough fives courts for all of us, though we did not scruple to make use of the ready-made courts which were provided by the buttresses of the chapel. This was the half for steeplechases and races, and during my last year or two at Eton the custom of running a drag (it has now become regular hare-hunting) with a pack of beagles began. But it was only in its infancy then, and, at any rate in the case of our College pack, not very successful.'

The writer well remembers that the above-mentioned 'pack' at first consisted of a single long-backed Scotch terrier, kept by the Powell of the day, at the end of the playing fields. To direct the movements of this interesting animal there was a master and two whips. His zeal was beyond praise, and his name was 'Ruff.' But the master was unable to pronounce his Rs, and changed it to 'Muff.' We hunted him in the region between Eton and Ditton. When the pack became a more collective thing the

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College Beagles amalgamated with the Eton Hunt,[1] and the present Eton College Beagles, so dear to certain humanitarian journals, enjoy the district all round.

We proceed with our extracts:

'The last two years at school are, naturally, the happiest and the most important. One became a more eminent person oneself when one got into Sixth Form and possessed a fag. Then I became a member, and at last President, of "Pop"—*i.e.* the Eton Debating Society, which had a club room, where there was a fair library or writing room, a comfortable fire, and any number of newspapers. Then the examinations became more exciting, for one's Scholarship at King's depended upon those held at the end of each July, and just before Easter in each year there was the examination for the Newcastle Scholarship open to all the school. The second boy had to be contented with a medal, and this was my fate. I am afraid it may have been rather a disappointment (not that he would have cared about the money) to my father, as I see in his Diary, April 13, 1859: "Rode to Eton . . . spoke to Carter and others, who were sanguine of A.'s success for the Newcastle."

'However, as J. B. Dyne, who beat me, did the

[1] It will be remembered that 'E. C. H.' was on the brass buttons which one day had surprised a former Headmaster, when worn in school for the first time, and that his inquiry was met by the assertion that the letters stood for 'Edward Craven Hawtrey.'

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same more than once at Cambridge, there is no doubt that he was the better man; and our rivalry did not prevent our being very good friends, in proof of which I am godfather to one of his children.

'By this time the old arrangement of the Public School Matches, according to which Eton, Harrow, and Winchester used to play each other at the end of July or beginning of August, had been given up. Eton and Harrow still had a match as now, about the middle of July, at Lord's, and Eton and Winchester played each other, as now, alternately at these schools. Of course we were very keen about getting into the Eleven, and my last summer half at Eton (1858) was chiefly devoted to this object, though somehow one had also to find time to prepare for election trials at the end of the summer, as the loss of a place or two might cost one a Scholarship at King's. I did get into the Eleven, but was not very successful in it, nor indeed was our side. The truth is that Eton cricket was rather at a low ebb just then. We were generally good enough to beat Winchester, but not Harrow, which was as large a school then as Eton, at least in the number of big boys, and had no river to divide them into two classes, besides having a cricket ground which was more like Lord's, and first-rate teachers of cricket. We had to teach ourselves. However, even in 1858 we had in the Eleven two boys who afterwards became the best gentlemen bats of their day, C. G.

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Lyttelton, now Lord Cobham, and R. A. H. Mitchell, and both in that year and in 1859, when also I played for Eton, though I had left the school, there was a boy in the Eton Eleven who also rowed in the Eton Eight—a very rare phenomenon.'

The above extracts have been given at some length because they appear to possess a freshness which no other words would have possessed, and because they show what the school life at that date was, and in what things Augustus took an interest. The fact is, to comment first on the athletic side, which undoubtedly interested us all the most, that the occurrence of a crucial examination, on which a boy's whole career often depended, at the end of the summer half was felt by Collegers of that day to be a very heavy handicap. There were generally two or three fair cricketers among them, and the really ablest of these were just the ones who naturally wished to make the best of both worlds, and felt some pride in holding their own in each. But it was exceedingly hard and anxious work, though it is very possible that the exigencies of their position gave them a greater facility in turning time to account and making the most of their powers. In his second year in the Eleven, however, Augustus was more happily situated. In those days the captain of the school had to go off to King's immediately on the occurrence of a vacancy, which might take place at any time, and it happened that both he himself and

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Dyne, who was then captain of the Eleven, had to leave Eton for this purpose at the end of the Easter holidays. A certain formality was gone through in these cases, called 'being ripped.' The boy's gown was sewn together in front, and the Provost solemnly took a pair of scissors and severed the threads, to signify that he then and there ceased to be a member of the school. As the two boys had to return after the Easter holidays of 1859 for this formality, they were reckoned as having 'come back' for the school time, and it was arranged that they should both play in the two school matches, but that Dyne was not to exercise the captaincy, and they both found themselves in the fortunate position of getting their cricket without any election trials to face.

He played all the school games as they came round with zeal and success, and possessing, like his brothers, great activity, he was well fitted to excel in the Light Brigade of Football, as an 'outside' or a 'corner.' But cricket was his especial joy, and in this he achieved much success as wicket-keeper, owing to his love for the game, and his unflagging perseverance and constant good temper. Rarely did this latter fail him. One occasion is, however, remembered, and the fact of its being so remembered is significant in the true sense of that often misunderstood proverb, *exceptio probat regulam.* It was in the Winchester Match of 1858. The scores had been small. In the second innings the Winchester

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side had got 80 and wanted one run to tie, having but one wicket remaining. Haygarth and Garnier were batting—both afterwards in the Oxford University Eleven. Augustus caught one of them at the wicket. It was admitted to be a catch by the batsman, and heard all round the ground except by the umpire, who, afflicted by a temporary deafness, gave it 'not out.' The wicket-keeper dashed the ball down on the ground—one of the few instances in his life when he showed that he was put out, which the batsman was not! Then one run was scored. Stone and Dyne were bowling very well. After several overs at last Haygarth made the winning run, and was carried round the ground on the shoulders of the Winchester boys. It may be worth while to add that, besides being a very keen player himself, Augustus was extremely fond of watching the play of others, a pleasure which he continued to take in after life. At such times he would carefully follow with the greatest interest every varying phase of the game, and he possessed a very retentive and accurate memory for the scores, as well as for any humorous or noteworthy occurrence in the play. On one occasion, in later life, he was much impressed by seeing a match won before the losing side had bowled a ball. The King's Choristers played the Trinity boys. Trinity got out for 0, and the first ball their bowler attempted to deliver was a 'No Ball!'

But it is time to turn to other matters. There

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can be no doubt that the change of Tutor, whereby Augustus came under the fresher training of a young and zealous teacher, was extremely beneficial to his scholarship. The terminal reports of both of his Tutors, which were preserved by his father with much care, are full of details as to the merit of his work, but they would hardly interest the general reader. There may have been some disappointment at his achieving only the second place for the Newcastle Scholarship, but the performance was a good one; and the failure, if it can be called so, had its redeeming side, nor can it have caused more than a momentary regret. The tenure of a Scholarship is soon over, to be in after life an interesting memory. Such has been at any rate the conclusion of one who still feels some satisfaction in having succeeded him in the 'barren honours.' Moreover, it was in Augustus's case the record of a good deal more than success in the rather narrow classical training which was then included in the school work, for he had shown himself an interested student in other walks of literature; he was a good speaker in the College Debating Society, and was President of 'Pop' at a time when the debates were more real than they have been at some subsequent periods, and his speeches and his summings-up were always careful, sensible, and well reasoned.

Indeed, it may be truly said that, whatever his hand found to do, he did it with his might, and that

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his influence was felt as that of a true raiser of tone, in the studies and games in which he took part, and also in the daily life around him. The only exception to his success in his studies was in the region of mathematics, which, as has been mentioned, had not entered much into his preparation. This study had only recently been made obligatory, and was regarded by many as the one cloud in their sunny lives. The fateful counsels of the Rev. Stephen Hawtrey had made an irreducible minimum of these a condition to any promotion in the school. Augustus managed to keep his head above the waves better than some others, but that was all.

None can be better judges of a boy's real character than those who are close to him in school. For some years Augustus's place in college was between his friends J. R. Mozley and J. B. Dyne, both of whom survive to record their impressions. Mozley says, 'As a schoolboy at Eton he left on me an impression of such a charm as I can never forget, in manner and in real kindness; and I did see a great deal of him during the last year that I was at Eton, for we used often to read together.' And Dyne writes thus of him:

'It was not until we were both high up in the Fifth Form that we were in the same division in school, but before these days I naturally saw a good deal of him, in other ways, playing in the same games with him of cricket, football, and other sports. I recollect

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him as always a good sportsman, full of healthy spirits and fun, and with a somewhat keenly developed sense of the humorous aspect of things, which quality was, however, never allowed to degenerate into any remarks of a bitter or ill-natured character.

'After we were both in the Headmaster's division, about 1857, we became more closely associated in school work, and during our last two years at Eton were comrades in the Cricket Eleven. It was then that I learnt more fully to appreciate the charm of his character. With abundance of keenness and capacity for enjoyment, and without the slightest suspicion of affectation or priggishness, he was one whose amiable and pure character everyone who was brought into contact with him could not but respect. During the last few months of our stay at Eton he was captain of College and of the school, I being during the same period second captain, and his high character and example were, I feel sure, of great value to the younger boys in College. I cannot but look back with admiration at the high and noble ideal at which he aimed, and which I think he reached, and to which so few of us, his contemporaries, in any degree approximated.'

These last words strike a note of truth. In those days the larger proportion of boys in College had been carefully trained and brought up, in many cases in the isolation of a country home life, for good private schools were not so easily accessible as they are now,

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and therefore the introduction of young boys into such dangers as are inseparable from a public school life was an anxious process. There was a good deal of harm under the surface, and a good deal above it also. But there was much more of carelessness in general talk, in some sets, and of these sets there was a considerable social intermingling. The effect, therefore, of the presence of one who was in act and in language known and allowed to be quite above reproach was an asset in the community of very great importance, especially as his physical powers and advantages enabled him to take a quite independent line of his own, and, what was felt as rarer, to keep to it undeviatingly. It was this which was recognised in him as so remarkable. Other boys might be excellent, but excellence in him was unvarying and seemed to be instinctive, and therefore everyone felt that he was in a different category and had a right to be so. One can think, in turning over past times, of various episodes which either were or seemed more or less shady, in the lives of even the best boys; but Joe Leigh was in a different class. He was *totus teres atque rotundus*, and those who were prone enough to criticise others found in his character no inequality and nothing to catch hold of. This has perhaps been the feature that has most impressed his early friends. Another is that, sensitive as he was, and unusually careful not to be out of harmony with others, there were certain matters

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in which he seemed to lose this care. The general attitude, for example, at Evening Prayers or in Chapel, was certainly one of careless inattention. There was little about the reading of the service, less about the singing of praise, and perhaps least of all about the sermons to attract or interest, and to follow even the Psalms in a book was rare. At such times he would stand with his eyes fixed on the page, his head bent, for he was a little short of sight, repeating each response or alternate verse in low but resonant tones, like Socrates at Potidæa, altogether impenetrable to what his young friends might be doing, saying, or looking at.

Yet at ordinary times he was not much given to speak of sacred things, nor was he even in after life an easy man with whom to discuss a religious subject. He kept those matters on which he felt most deeply in a very sacred shrine. He was extremely charitable and tolerant of the opinions and even of the foibles of others, but more reticent than most men in opening his own feelings.

It is particularly true of him that the qualities which he showed in after life were observable in him from the first. As is remarked by the author of 'The Upton Letters,' the real character does not vary.[1] The stream continues the same throughout—

[1] 'I look round, and the same phenomenon meets me everywhere. I do not know any instance among my friends where I can trace any radical change of character.' *Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper in secula seculorun* (*The Upton Letters*, page 35).

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at any rate in most of us—and, unless possibly through some sharp and tremendous crisis, we cannot change it. What we can do is to build embankments and dams and sluices, and so to correct the course by straightening here and confining there, that the ever persistent forces may be, by the Divine aid, controlled and turned to good uses, and this is the main function of education and experience. Even our mistakes and faults thus give rise to a new situation—a fresh start—one may even say a new handicapping in the race of life. So that the resulting man often, by contrast, surprises those who are able to remember the beginning of the youth. A real change of character is extremely rare, but modifications and, in most of us, happily, improvements are constant.

All this was very remarkably true of our friend. The course of his development from boy to man was singularly equable and progressive. The stream flowed through pleasant vales, subject to no transforming influences, and required very little in the way of coercion or direction. He illustrated his own side of the text 'He that is righteous, let him be righteous still; and he that is holy, let him be holy still.' With all these high qualities he was not one who entered into any vehement antagonism to evil around him. Showing a high standard of conduct himself, he seemed satisfied to maintain it without troubling himself much about others. He did not

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aspire to the roll of a reformer, but the influence which he exercised was not the less real because it was unconscious and unsought. On looking back one realises that the reason of this lay in his innate modesty and unobtrusiveness. Indeed, his manner at times was noticeably apologetic. So careful was he not to tread on the corns of others, that he often seemed to beg their pardon rather needlessly; and when one considers the offhand manner in which boys habitually treat one another, the failing, if it be one, might seem not an ungraceful one, especially as it evidently arose from conscientiousness and not from weakness.

Hence his companions generally felt a genuine, though perhaps a rather amused, admiration for him. He seemed such an excellent specimen of their citizenship that they took a sort of pride in him which would have received a sad blow if Joe Leigh had fallen into any of the usual scrapes of boyhood. One of his friends writes that at one time Augustus, owing to the fatigue of games, found himself sleeping rather too heavily in the mornings for one of his careful habits. We used to be called by a head servant called Shirley, but his reveille, though efficient, was sometimes so early that it resembled the 'ambition which o'erleaps itself.' He could not be expected to seize the true psychological moment for each one among so many boys, and therefore there was ample scope for a relapse. Poor

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Augustus, though high in the school, had no lower boy at that time whose services he might command. It was related of a certain old Colleger that when his fag asked him overnight at what time he should call him, he excused him in the words of the Psalmist, 'I *myself* will awake right early.' But in this case, and perhaps in this only, the flesh was weak. So Augustus asked his friend, who had the honour of occupying the next apartment, to step in and call him again each dawn, before the final scurry at half-past seven might point the moral of lost opportunities. The friend gladly undertook the task. It was rather a case of the blind leading the blind, but the service was 'twice blest,' and reacted on the doer. It would never have done for Joe Leigh to get into trouble for such a thing. 'Coming at one' did no one any harm, but worse things might happen. The excuse which Dr. Goodford always exacted, embarrassing, however humble, might soon fail to satisfy, and he was no respecter of persons. He would have grinned, and acted with complete fairness. But it would have been a reflection on all College if Joe Leigh had got a Georgic. It may be truly stated that this danger rather than his own aroused the next neighbour to vigilance morning after morning until virtue became its own reward.

In truth it is a question not satisfactorily cleared up, whether Augustus ever did get a 'punishment.' One cannot be sure that he did not, for in those times

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that most iniquitous of penalties, a 'general pœna,' [1] was not uncommon, when anything particularly mysterious happened, and the perpetrator was too reticent or modest to come forward himself. If not a very popular boy, he might be pressed to give himself up. But this was left very much to the individual, and the acceptance of slight vicarious inconveniences was generally felt the lesser evil, for it would soon be over. It was not a satisfactory method, and has deservedly gone out of vogue. It was the resort of weakness, but no one escaped, not even the wickedest nor yet the most impeccable, any more than when the brimstone and treacle was served round at Dotheboys Hall. Let us be thankful for better times!

This little sketch would be incomplete unless some mention were made of the support and help Augustus received from his brother Edward. In fact the pair, curiously alike in character and also in family resemblance, yet in some ways widely different from one another, were throughout life so loyal and so true to one another that their family affection has been proverbial from the days of their boyhood. They and their younger brother had the singular advantage of following very much the same course both at Eton and King's, and this was shared to a great extent by their companions in college, many

[1] An imposition—generally of a large number of lines to be written out—set to a whole division, innocent and guilty alike.

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of whom, owing to early sympathies and similar studies and pursuits, as well as to a certain general convergence on Eton, have been able, to a remarkable extent, to keep in touch with one another, and to maintain the early ties of friendship unimpaired and even uninterrupted.

This slight account of a happy boyhood may perhaps be not unfitly concluded by a notice of an episode which, though in itself trivial, is very typical of the Eton life of those days. That kind of set personal encounters, called 'mills in sixpenny,' had already before this become very rare or even unknown, though instances of such heroic contests were not uncommon a few years earlier. Less formal conflicts, however, especially in the lower parts of the school, were of course not infrequent. One of these had taken place in February 1859 between two boys, both of whom were in the lower school, and in that division which then bore the significant name of 'Sense,' as standing next above 'Nonsense.' Whatever may have been the merits of the dispute, the elder brother of the unsuccessful combatant, who was a big boy, interfered on behalf of his 'minor,' and came down as an avenger of blood upon the hitherto victorious antagonist, who was presumably more or less exhausted by his previous efforts. This was considered to be an infraction of the unwritten law, and the matter having somehow reached the ears of the Rev. J. Hawtrey, in whose house both

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the younger combatants boarded, a diplomatic situation at once arose. The outcome of this was a rather curious 'identic note,' which is still preserved, from the Rev. J. Hawtrey to the two highest boys in the school, Austen Leigh and Mr. Duncan, now Earl of Camperdown, who was then captain of the Oppidans. A meeting of the Sixth Form was held to consider what ought to be done, and it was decided that the captain of the school must inflict summary punishment. The offender was summoned to receive it. Duncan was officially present, and two other Sixth Form Oppidans, C. G. Heathcote and W. B. Gurdon, were called in as assessors. It was thought quite possible that there might be resistance, the culprit being a boy of considerable size and great independence of character. But authority had its way, and he accepted the justice meted out to him with becoming submission. It may be well believed that this, though one of the assessors describes it as conscientiously vigorous, was not too severe for the requirement of the case; indeed, to act at all in such a case must have been to the future Provost of King's sufficiently unpleasant. But at Eton it was rightly considered that social offences were in many cases best dealt with by the boys themselves, either individually and informally, or, as in this instance, in a more ceremonious way. It need only be added that several of the actors in this little drama had distinguished careers in after life.

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CHAPTER IV

CAMBRIDGE AND HENLEY

In the spring of 1859 Lord Cowley, at that time British Ambassador at Paris, wrote to ask the Provost of Eton to send him someone to read with his son, an Eton boy, during the Easter holidays. Dr. Hawtrey recommended Augustus, who had not yet actually left the school. In spite of some regrets at home for the loss of his company the offer was too tempting to be refused. He joined Lord Cowley's family in apartments in Paris, as they were not yet settled in the Embassy, which was being prepared for their habitation. It proved to be a very agreeable mode of making his first acquaintance with a foreign land; for, besides enjoying the company of a kind and courteous host and his pleasant family, he occasionally joined two friends, viz. his young Eton tutor, Mr. E. D. Stone, and his former fag-master, Mr. G. R. Dupuis, who were spending Easter in Paris, and went with them to various places of interest. On leaving Paris after a stay of three weeks he was put in charge of a bag of despatches, an honourable burden which insured great civility on the way, but which he was not sorry to deliver as quickly as possible at the

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Foreign Office in London. Lord Cowley gave the young tutor a handsome watch and chain, which he used for the rest of his life, and wrote to the Provost saying: 'I thank you very much for having procured me the pleasure of making Mr. Leigh's acquaintance. I never met with a more modest, gentlemanlike young man. He won, I assure you, all our hearts. May I request you to convey my best acknowledgments to his father for having so kindly permitted him to come?'

On the completion of the ceremony at Eton, described in the last chapter, Augustus Austen Leigh, with his friends J. B. Dyne and Roland Wilson, went to Cambridge, where they were admitted Scholars of King's. It is curious to read Augustus's first impressions of a place to which he afterwards became so devotedly attached. They were contained in a letter written to his brother who was still at Eton. He says (May 22, 1859), 'I can hardly tell yet how I like this place. The country up from London here was wonderfully hideous, and it is not prepossessing at Cambridge; nor are most of the Colleges very handsome; but there is a good deal interesting about them, and what are called the "backs" (*i.e.* of the Colleges) are very pretty, principally from the presence of the Cam, and also from some very nice trees which they possess.' The following reminiscences, written for this memoir by Mr. F. A. Bosanquet, K.C., Common Serjeant of London, one of his oldest and

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closest friends, will find a fitting place here, although they refer to Eton as well as to King's.

He describes very much the same character as that depicted in the last chapter. 'The most lovable of men,' he says, 'he was as a boy the same as in after life, serious and somewhat reserved, but with a fund of humour and merriment generally suppressed except when in a circle of his own friends, equally keen at work and at play, unselfish and affectionate, not merely negatively innocent but positively good, *anima naturaliter Christiana.* The evil of a public school seemed not to touch him; not that he moved in another plane or was in any way separate from what is bad, but that it had no chemical affinity for his nature, and passed by without affecting him. Many of us were loud enough in denouncing both the offence and the offender in anything we thought objectionable, while he left such persons and things passed over in silence. A contemporary drawing recalls him as he appeared when, escaping from the uncongenial surroundings of Lower Tea Room, he took refuge in Rodney Baker's rooms to finish his tea in peace with a mess composed of elder friends.

'Both at Eton and at Cambridge he was, like his "Major," afterwards Lower Master of Eton, distinguished by a marvellous faculty for using the *subseciva tempora.* Under the training of their father, they had both acquired the habit of applying them-

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selves at a moment's notice to any piece of work. Without any process of winding-up or preparation, their minds were promptly concentrated on the matter in hand. The weekly copy of verses was to most of us, even those who were fair composers according to the Eton standard of composition, a serious matter, not to be unadvisedly or lightly enterprised or taken in hand. A long "after 12" or "after 4," when we could have an uninterrupted spell of two hours, was generally devoted to the beginning of the work; and with good luck two-thirds of a copy might be produced before it was time for "Absence," and probably the same amount of time was required to finish the exercise. With Edward and Augustus the process was very different. An interval of twenty minutes after breakfast was sufficient for the production of the first few verses, to which a couplet or two would be added in a quarter of an hour, while the writer was changing for cricket or football, and the rest would be composed at similar odd times without any sacrifice of quality. The consequence was that most of the daytime not actually spent in school could be devoted to play. It was the same at Cambridge. While reading as hard as any of us, they were able to devote more time to cricket, and while other men were preparing a piece of work for one of the lecturers, Edward and Augustus found time to learn and play tennis, at the same time having their work well in hand.

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'When Augustus came up to King's the undergraduate body consisted of fourteen or fifteen Scholars and two or three junior Fellows, who, having completed their three years of probation, had been admitted *veri et perpetui socii*, but had not yet taken their degree. He at once found himself among old friends, all Kingsmen at that time having been collegers at Eton, and most of those senior to himself who had been his special friends at Eton having come up to King's.

'It used to be said at that time that no Kingsman was ever a freshman; and it was probably true that a newcomer to King's was rarely guilty of those negligences and ignorances by which freshmen at other Colleges were distinguished. This was not merely due to the fact that they came from a public school and not from a country grammar school or other seminary of sound but recluse learning. There was a custom of the College that every Scholar for the first week was under the tutelage of one a year or two his senior. Each man became in turn "Chum" to a newcomer, who was his "Nib." It was the duty of the Chum to instruct his Nib in all the rules and unwritten laws of the College and University, to help him in the important matter of furnishing his rooms, and to see that he was not imposed on by tradesmen, or unduly tyrannised over by his bedmaker. For his first week the Nib always breakfasted with his Chum, in the Chum's rooms if they were not invited elsewhere, but generally at a breakfast party in some

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other undergraduate's rooms to which they were both invited. It would be hard to say whether Chum or Nib most enjoyed their relationship. Certainly that a Chum should neglect his Nib or give him anything but the best advice according to his lights was as unheard of as for a Roman patron *prævaricari patrocinium.* One of these duties Augustus's Chum was hardly able to discharge with entire success, as the bedmaker into whose hands he fell was a lady of dominant temperament who did not brook much interference from others.

'The rooms to which Augustus succeeded by rotation (for everything in King's went by rotation) were the set on the second floor of the staircase at the west end of Wilkins's Buildings looking over the court towards the chapel. This was then known as "Mrs. Goter's staircase," Mrs. Goter being the bedmaker who, with the help of her daughter, Mrs. Freestone, always known as Mary Anne, "did for" all the Scholars on that staircase. The other Scholars' staircase at the east end of the building was served by Mrs. Austin, and was sometimes but not so often spoken of as "Mrs. Austin's staircase." Mrs. Goter, who was not good at names, and perhaps did not see why any of the Scholars should indulge in two, always distinguished Augustus and his brother as "my Mr. Leigh" and "Mrs. Austin's Mr. Leigh." If Mrs. Goter was not good at names, she excelled in other lines. She reigned over

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"her gentlemen" with a rule maternal but not mild. "You will lay in knives and forks" she would say to a new gentleman; "Mr. Witt has spoons, and Mr. Nelson has glasses, and Mr. Churton has cups and saucers; but I have not got knives and forks for the staircase, so you'll get knives and forks." Her honesty was a matter of admiration even to herself; and, feeling with Horace that virtue concealed counted for little, she did not hesitate to call attention to her own. At the end of Term she would produce a fragment of biscuit from the recesses of your cupboard and protest, "There's others would have taken your things regular; and not a thing have I touched but what you said I could take. There's this half biscuit——!" She naturally expected to be paid a little above the College tariff for works of supererogation, and her expectations were rarely disappointed. She gave advice to her gentlemen when necessary, but it was not based on a high code of ethics. "Why do you go on like this while you are a Scholar?" she argued with a lawless young man on her staircase: "Why don't you do as Mr. Bosangates does? He just lives respectable for three years, and then when he gets his Fellowship he does as he likes." She had waited on Charles Simeon and regarded his Bible-reading parties from quite a different point of view from that of Bishop Moule. "Ah! that Mr. Simeon! I don't call him a good gentleman; much he cared for Sundays, keeping servants at work to any hour of

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night!" She was an excellent matron and devoted to her 'gentlemen,' and if she dominated them herself she took good care they were not imposed upon by anyone else. Augustus was always on excellent terms with her, and after she had retired from service he constantly visited her down to the time of her death. When he returned to the College as Tutor he engaged her daughter, Mrs. Freestone, as his bedmaker, and she continued to wait upon him till he moved into the Provost's Lodge. He afterwards had the satisfaction of nominating her to one of the Almswomen's pensions in the gift of the Provost.

'On the same landing as the rooms first occupied by Augustus were those of the one learned don, Henry Bradshaw, afterwards University Librarian. There were among the residents some capable men of business and two or three clerics, of whom George Williams, a man of austere piety, and one of the leaders of the High Church party at Cambridge, was the most prominent; but most of the learning and scholarship had gone elsewhere. Many of the best scholars were Masters at Eton. Thring was ruling at Uppingham. William Witts, the meekest of men, had gone to endeavour to work under his able but uncompromising rule. Rowland (or, as he was called at Eton and King's, "Taffy") Williams was at Lampeter, teaching younger Welshmen theology after the way others called heresy. Frederick Whitting, the friend of generations of undergraduates, had recently taken

his degree, but had not yet finally gone down. His Nib still recollects him as the cheeriest and most excellent of Chums, and has regretted in after life that he had not the same adviser in larger investments as in the purchase of furniture for what Mrs. Goter was pleased to call "three handsome rooms and a gyp-room besides." Whitting and his chestnut horse "Newcastle," presented to him on his gaining the Newcastle Scholarship at Eton, were frequently to be seen in the van of the Cambridgeshire Hunt. A day or two before the Classical Tripos, when King's candidates had been cramming with Shilleto till their heads were well-nigh muddled and they were in danger of failing like an overtrained crew in a race, he would induce them to knock off work, and take them for a gallop across country to clear their brains and send them fresh into the examination. Separated by his position from the Scholars, and free of the Fellows' garden and combination room, he was always ready to play in the eleven or row in the eight, if required.

'It was not long before Augustus came up to King's that his brother Edward had been the means of opening Bradshaw's door to the undergraduates; for, till the advent of the elder of the brothers, Bradshaw had lived the life of a hermit, and was almost unknown to the younger members of the College. One morning Edward, having failed to attend morning chapel, called upon Bradshaw for the purpose of reporting himself, as was the rule,

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to the Dean in charge for the week. Bradshaw listened in silence to a long and quite unnecessary explanation, and, when it had come to an end, remarked, "I am not the Dean. You had better sit down and have some breakfast." From that time Mrs. Austin's Mr. Leigh was free of Bradshaw's rooms; and gradually tea in Bradshaw's rooms became an institution to which all undergraduates of the College were welcomed, as well as a few outsiders who, from a love of the Chapel services or an appreciation of the scholarly society of King's, were pretty constantly in the College. The last were commonly called "King's Metœcs," as not belonging to the favoured nation but being in the position of resident aliens, or proselytes of the gate. At all times of the year there was a fire blazing in one of Bradshaw's rooms, and in one at least the windows were wide open. Until the rooms were emptied and the outer door sported, any undergraduate was free to enter, and would find fresh tea provided at almost any hour of the night.

'Augustus, from the time of his first coming up to King's, was one of those who constantly visited Bradshaw's rooms in the evening. Dinner in Hall was then at five o'clock, an hour later than in most other Colleges. After dinner half an hour or more would be spent in a stroll in the Backs or reading the newspaper at the Union, and then he would work with one of his friends for two or three hours, after

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which they would adjourn for tea and relaxation to Bradshaw's rooms.

'The circle of undergraduates in which he found himself on his admission to King's was small and perhaps too narrow, but certainly was not wanting in distinction. No one failed to take Honours either in the Classical or Mathematical Tripos, and not more than one or two fell short of a first class.

'F. C. Hodgson, Senior Classic, University Scholar and Chancellor's Medallist, afterwards Assistant Secretary to the Education Department; Oscar Browning, since so well known in King's, already embarking on a wider field of reading than most undergraduates; F. W. Cornish, Vice-Provost of Eton; J. R. Mozley, 12th Wrangler, 5th Classic, and Chancellor's Medallist; J. B. Dyne, now one of the Conveyancing Counsel to the Court; Roland Wilson, Senior Classic and University Scholar, recently Reader in Indian Law to the University: these with Edward and Augustus were in the first flight in the Classical Tripos, and obtained University Scholarships or prizes. In the Mathematical Tripos few Kingsmen made an appearance. Neither Augustus nor his brother was ever tempted to go far into mathematics beyond the minimum required for the Little Go—a standard successfully attained by them and all other Kingsmen of the period under the excellent teaching of the Sadlerian Lecturer, W. C. Green. This period, however, produced also the first King's Wrangler in the person of

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W. R. Churton, afterwards Canon of Rochester and St. Albans, most guileless of boys and men, too shy to take a forward part in society, but always ready to place his stores of theological learning at the service of inquiring friends. Nearly a year later than Augustus came William Mackworth Young, afterwards Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjaub.

'It was an insignificant College in point of numbers which he entered as a Scholar in 1859 compared with what he left it forty-five years later; but at any rate the Kingsmen of this day gave a good account of themselves, and brought the old system to an end with credit. In this small society, bound together by a closer tie than was possible in a larger and more open College, he was the sunniest and most sympathetic of friends. From the time he first came among us it might be said of him as of the late Sir George Grey, "No one could know him without being the better for it." Whether as undergraduate or Tutor, as Vice-Provost or as the head of a College, his influence was always and all for good.'

His own reminiscences of this time may be subjoined: 'I arrived [at Cambridge],' he says, 'one evening in May 1859, and was taken by Edward to spend my first evening in Bradshaw's rooms. . . . As for the undergraduates, there were twelve or fifteen of us, all Scholars from Eton, and of course knowing each other only too well. Life was rather earlier in those days than it is now, as we went to chapel at

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7.15, and to a lecture at 8 A.M.; and Hall was at 5 P.M. We read pretty fairly, considering that each of us was certain to get a Fellowship in exactly three years, unless we misbehaved ourselves very scandalously. Our chief lecturers were Shilleto, a great Greek scholar and eccentric character, and—in Divinity—first an excellent Archdeacon Hardwicke, who was killed in the Pyrenees in the summer of 1859, and after him Ellicott (Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol). Another Bishop—Harvey Goodwin of Carlisle—had been our Mathematical Lecturer just before I came up. Life was quieter as well as earlier in those days; no great plays, fewer evening entertainments (though Burnand was still here and acting at the A.D.C.), and the University Musical Society less active than it is now; no College musical or debating societies; almost the only athletics were cricket and rowing. We managed to keep a boat and a cricket eleven; but, as a good many men had to do double work, we played no College matches till the boat-races were over.'

It is unnecessary to add to these pictures; it is easy to imagine what this contracted but agreeable society was like, composed of men who had known each other since they were thirteen or fourteen years old; the only change being that different grades in the school ranks had come together, what was patronage and subordination at Eton becoming the intercourse of equals at King's. If any Kingsman wished for a

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larger and more varied experience, he had ready access to those sets at Trinity which were either specially intellectual or specially Etonian. Many valuable friendships were made in this way, but it was not quite like having friends in one's own College; a little laziness or a little shyness on either side might prevent the friendship from being matured. If Augustus did not see very much of the larger University world, it was not on account of either of these qualities, but because of his state of health. When he had been about a year and a half at Cambridge he began to suffer from weakness and an affection of the throat, which made the act of speaking troublesome. His ailment was not dangerous, but it was uncomfortable and pertinacious, and puzzled all the medical authorities, until at last Dr. Cowan of Reading, a physician whose ability was much greater than his fame, discovered that it was only a sign of weakness and want of tone, and would disappear under a course of tonics. It was several years, however, before he ceased entirely to feel it. The reality and persistency of it are shown by the fact that he, who was in the habit of confiding his ailments to his diary alone, thought it worth noting in his 'Recollections,' where he says: 'I really was in a poor way for some time, not suffering acute pain, but a good deal of discomfort, finding it rather a disagreeable effort, at times, to talk to my fellow-creatures, and avoiding their society more

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than would have been good for me under other circumstances.' On the whole it is probable that of all the years which he spent at Cambridge in the course of his life, the latter half of his undergraduate career gave him least pleasure; and in estimating the honours which he gained—the Latin Ode, the Members' Prize for Latin Essay, and the fourth place in the First Class of the Classical Tripos—it should be remembered that he was constantly fighting against weariness and weakness. But he put a brave face on his troubles, worked with determination and perseverance, and made his influence felt in the College. He had always one of his two King's brothers, first the elder and then the younger, in residence with him; and the friendship of Bradshaw was a constant support. Bradshaw writes to him (Jan. 9, 1861): 'I half expected to find Edward here when I came back on Saturday night, but I suppose now he won't come much before you do, and that will *of course* be the very last minute. I have been away for nearly a fortnight, and the utmost I can wish for you is that you may have had as happy a Christmas and New Year as I. Meantime I suppose you are enjoying yourself to your heart's content. . . . Good-bye—my love to Edward if he is still with you. I shall be very glad indeed when you come up, if it is only to warm the staircase;' words which, in accordance with the writer's half-sarcastic vein, concealed a great deal more attachment than they expressed.

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The following extract from a letter of Mr. Dyne's (July 29, 1905), another part of which has already been quoted for the school life, shows that he was still active in the athletic concerns of the College. 'He became by general acclamation the captain, or, as it was termed, the "despot," of our College Cricket Eleven. We were then a close and small College, hardly numbering sufficient undergraduates to keep up an eleven, but we received much valuable assistance in this respect from the Graduate Fellows in residence. I well recollect the friendly and affectionate terms in which the late Provost was held in the College by those senior in standing to him, as well as by his contemporaries and juniors. I shall always cherish the memory of his friendship as one of the happiest recollections of my life.'

As to more serious influence the following, written by a friend soon after Augustus had gone away, will speak for itself: 'I can't tell you how I feel your loss from King's. It is no longer the same place to me. . . . How little I have used opportunities! I wish I could have one more year of you; I would give worlds for it.'

After he took his degree, a change of scene and occupation seemed desirable, to help him to pick up his strength, and in 1863 and 1864 he twice went abroad with pupils, once with two Eton boys for a short stay at Rome, and afterwards for a longer period with Lord March (now Duke of Richmond),

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on a tour which included Malta, Constantinople, and Vienna.

Between the dates of these two journeys an important family event occurred—the marriage of his eldest brother, Cholmeley, to the eldest daughter of Archbishop Trench. The families of his two married brothers were to rank high among the interests and pleasures of his later life.

After his second tour he returned home and read for Holy Orders, partly at Bray and partly at Cambridge. He never lost touch with his College, whether present or absent. A letter written to him from King's about this time by his friend John Carter is interesting as the first mention of a movement which was to bear fruit thirty or forty years later, and which Augustus was to do a good deal to promote. The letter is written to tell him of 'a scheme which has been started here among the resident bachelors for a new reredos in the place of the Essex woodwork in the chapel. Cobbold suggested the idea of annual contributions for five years, and all the bachelors up here promised either 10*l*. or 5*l*. for this period. We also spoke to two or three men on Tuesday, and the total amount promised is now 800*l*. The idea is to raise 1,000*l*. in this way to begin upon, and then ask for further subscriptions from old and present Fellows of the College, which I think would soon be forthcoming. This is supposing that about 2,000*l*. would suffice ;' rather a sanguine antici-

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pation, but it is pleasant to put on record the zeal of John Carter, which never slackened until the end of his life.

It was a year earlier than this that one of the College officials had written urging Austen Leigh to take the Composition Lectureship, and a year later that William Churton, writing to tell him of his own appointment to the newly revived office of Tutor, modestly added, 'Bradshaw and George Williams thought you were the best man for the office, if you had only been of M.A. standing.' Other more lucrative posts were open to him. He might have had a mastership either at Eton or at Harrow; and what was perhaps a still more interesting offer was made to him in a letter from Archbishop Benson, who was then engaged in giving shape to Wellington College. 'I am anxious,' he says, 'to fill up a classical mastership here—the highest one. And I have been told that it is possible that you might be willing—at any rate for a time—to undertake some school work. The duties of this post are assistance to me in the teaching and composition of the Sixth. The work is not hard in hours, it more requires vigour and interest on the part of the master; and I may say that the boys are both very agreeable to deal with, and eminently ready to work hard with anyone who will work with them.' Augustus was, however, determined that nothing should interfere with his giving a trial to parochial work. . . . . .

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His ordination was to take place at Trinity, 1865; his brother Arthur's (at which he was present) had been in Advent 1864. Arthur, who was Fellow of an Oxford College, was ordained at Oxford though he was to work in London, and Augustus in his turn, though he was to work in the Diocese of Oxford, wished to be ordained on his Fellowship at King's by the Visitor, Bishop Jackson of Lincoln. When the time came, his family were making a long absence from home in the West of England, and his father wrote, regretting deeply that he could not be present; 'but,' he said, 'I shall truly be with you in heart. You go accompanied by my blessing, love, and high esteem.' He was not left quite alone, however, for a deputation from King's, consisting of Henry Bradshaw, Felix Cobbold, and his own younger brother came to spend the Sunday at Lincoln, in order to be present at the ceremony. It is perhaps not surprising that he came out first in the Bishop's examination.

He went at once to Henley-on-Thames, where he worked for the next two years as curate, at first without any stipend. The place had many advantages. His Rector, Mr. Charles Warner, was a man of piety and refinement, devoted to his profession, and easy to work with; the place was one of the most beautiful in the Thames valley, any part of which would have seemed homelike to him. His family were well known in the neighbourhood, with which, indeed, they had been connected for more than a century; for it was

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about a century before this that Cassandra Leigh, whose maiden life was spent at the adjoining Rectory of Harpsden, was married to his great-grandfather, George Austen. The residence of Scarlets, which was built by Cassandra's brother James, and which was afterwards the home of Augustus's father, and his own birthplace, was in the neighbouring parish of Wargrave. The bright, energetic Vicar of that parish, Simon Sturges, was his father's friend and former curate; while the Rectory of Sonning, a little higher up the river, was occupied by another old friend, Hugh Pearson (afterwards Canon of Windsor), a man of singular ability and charm, whose suggestive conversation was an important element in forming the minds of a good many young men. Bray was but eleven miles off, and there were many neighbours nearer at hand who wished for his society. Though he had no horse, and bicycles were unknown, he was fairly independent, for he was a good walker and could help himself in various directions either with his boat or with a train. But parish work of the usual sort—writing sermons, teaching in schools, visiting—occupied the greater part of his time. His Rector was considerate in not requiring a great deal of preaching at first; but it was not a great while after he was ordained that he had to take practically the whole of a Sunday's services at Merton in Surrey to help an old Henley curate.

As time went on, it appeared evident that Henley

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did not agree well with his health. The town lay in that part of the Thames valley where the hills approach most nearly to the river on each side, and two successive summers of unusually protracted heat converted it into a hot-pan. He began to flag: while at one time an injury to his knee, aggravated by walking all the way to Bray, pulled him down so much as to make an absence at Bournemouth expedient. His Rector wished him to spare himself more than he was willing to do, and wrote to his father: 'I have been most anxious for my devoted hardworking fellow-labourer to have a little rest. Please never to have the slightest hesitation in summoning him home, as Chapman and myself will simply have to do what we have done, as a matter of course, every Sunday, until your son came and gave us his invaluable help. I really think that he wants a longer rest than he is willing to allow himself. . . . I cannot send this off without offering you warmest thanks and most sincere congratulations—my thanks for the help in every part of my work derived from your son's co-operation—my congratulations on the great gifts with which he is endowed for the service of God and His Church. In his preaching, his school work, his pastoral visiting, he has won the affections of those with whom he has been drawn into intercourse. I only feel ashamed at the little help he draws from me in return.'

Augustus, however, was coming to the conclusion

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that parochial work did not suit him. This was partly owing to his inveterate humility, which made it difficult for him to believe that he was succeeding in anything that he undertook; and from this point of view the idea is sufficiently dispelled by reading the words quoted above, as well as those with which his Rector took leave of him. Mr. Warner was anxious to give him some standard theological work which might 'replenish those stores of thought and learning, on which I have drawn so freely for the edification of myself as well as of my flock. I cannot allow,' he adds, 'our connection to cease without expressing my deep sense of the loss sustained by all of us in the withdrawal of one who has worked with such loving and steadfast energy amidst many special difficulties and discouragements.'

Augustus's desire now was to be relieved of this kind of work, at all events for a period, and to have time for further theological study before taking Priest's Orders. He decided therefore to leave Henley at Trinity, 1867, and, after a summer's holiday, to go into residence at King's in the autumn. He meant, no doubt, to read for the Priesthood; but at the same time he must have been aware that he was likely to be diverted from his study by a call to take College work which he would find it very difficult to resist.

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CHAPTER V

KING'S IN 1867

When Augustus Austen Leigh returned to Cambridge in the autumn of 1867, and began that long and uninterrupted career in the service of his College, which ended only on the day of his death, he found King's at the very beginning of a period of transition. The old constitution of the College (which he himself afterwards described in his History of King's) had lasted more than four centuries, but had now been theoretically brought to a close, and replaced by a new system under the Statutes of 1861. For more than four centuries the 'scanty band' of scholars taken by rotation from the sister foundation of Eton had been (with the exception of a few fellow commoners) the only undergraduates. Henry VI. had no doubt intended Eton to be the training-ground for King's; but the growth of the school and the comparative stagnation of the College had resulted in making King's the appanage of Eton. The College had indeed produced, during the four centuries of its existence, a considerable number of distinguished men; but how they got there, and how they became distinguished under its auspices, must remain some-

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thing of a mystery; for the foundationers of Eton were drawn largely from a narrow circle of families, with whom life at the two Colleges had become a tradition, and were selected by no real intellectual test, either at the beginning or at the end of their school career; while at Cambridge they were examined neither by the College for their Fellowships, nor by the University for their degrees. They succeeded to the former by lapse of time, and obtained the latter by privilege. Yet somehow the dignity of the foundation, and the splendour and beauty of the Chapel and its services, touched the hearts and fired the imagination of some of them, though no doubt the majority stagnated, and some did even worse.

After the year 1840 there was a stirring of the dry bones. In 1841 the examination of Eton boys for King's was made a reality. Indeed, so seriously did the authorities take it that (as we are assured by the father of the present Provost of King's, who was one of the successful candidates) the examination was actually repeated several weeks later in order to give a chance to some boys who had been laid up with scarlet fever at the earlier date. Three or four years later the entrance examination to the foundation at Eton became a serious competition; and this, coinciding in time with the provision of decent quarters for the boys, produced a remarkable improvement in the intellectual standard and moral tone of the Collegers. The next step in the elevation

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of the twin Colleges was taken at Cambridge, after the election of Provost Okes in 1850, when, at his instance, the privilege of receiving a degree without examination was given up. The institution of 'Intermediate Examinations' in the middle of the boys' Eton career followed; and by these various reforms a habit of work and a feeling of academic ambition were instilled, which produced a generation of real students, even while the reform of the Statutes was only in the air. It will be seen later how important a factor in the growth of the College this quickening of intellectual sympathy became.

The object of the University reform movement, which issued in the Statutes of 1861, was almost purely educational, and educational within the limits of the different Colleges. It did not touch celibate life Fellowships, it dealt but little with ecclesiastical status, it had no prevision of the substitution of professorial or intercollegiate lectures for teaching within the College gates. It rather sought to make this teaching as efficient as possible, and to provide the teachers with the best raw material to work upon, by setting the Scholarships, in the main, free from all fetters of county or school preference. Some school connections were, however, too strong to be broken, and the tie between Eton and King's was one of these. What the new Statutes provided for King's was that the Fellowships, reduced in number to forty-six, should be given to the best men in the

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College; that there should be twenty-four good Eton Scholarships; and that there should be an equal number of Open Scholarships, which, however, were only to come into existence after the twenty-four Eton Scholarships had been filled up. A reminiscence of the old mystic 'seventy' of the founder was supposed to be retained by the fact that the addition of the number of Fellows to the number of Eton Scholars made up that amount.

To any person unacquainted with the habits and traditions of an English University it might have seemed a comparatively simple thing to launch out into the career of a large College. King's possessed at that time an income of over 30,000*l*. a year. It had a democratic constitution, and no clerical restrictions. It had splendid buildings, standing in ample grounds; it had the prestige of a close alliance with the greatest school in England, and Fellows enough to teach an unlimited number of students. Surely the connection with Eton was enough to collect the undergraduates, the College revenues to maintain them, the buildings to house them, and the dons to instruct them. But there were many considerations to oppose to these. It was the universal habit of our countrymen in the reforms of the nineteenth century (and one may hope it will be the same in the twentieth) strictly to respect vested interests. Three years after the introduction of the new Statutes King's had sixty-five Fellows. It was not then

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known how extravagant an estimate of their vested interests would be sanctioned by the Visitor; but there was no doubt that the burden which these vested interests would impose upon the College would be heavy, and last for a considerable number of years. Whatever the due amount of Fellows' dividends might be, they had not only a right to these dividends for life (unless they married or took College livings), but also a right to half as much again when they came within the magic circle of the thirteen senior Fellows—a right which even now, after the lapse of more than forty years, is not entirely extinguished. As soon as the Statutes were in operation the authorities began to give Eton Scholarships; and these, though few in number, were of a higher value than the old Scholarships, and it was obvious that nothing more could be done immediately. It was then arranged, in justice to the new Eton Scholars, that, instead of suppressing every vacancy in the Fellowships until the number had been reduced to forty-six, every alternate vacancy should be filled up during the transition period. The reduction therefore must be so slow a process that some time would elapse before much money was released.

Then, again, as to teachers; all the more active Fellows were already engaged in professions away from Cambridge. No encouragement had been given them to stay there. The College offered excellent instruction to the scholars in the older subjects of

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study; the names of Isaacson, Rowland Williams, and Shilleto in classics, Harvey Goodwin and Frost in mathematics, and Hardwicke, Ellicott, and Luckock in theology will be enough to assure the reader of this. But of these men only Rowland Williams was a Kingsman, and the official connection between teacher and pupil began and ended with set lectures; there was no one, except a young Fellow acting as 'Composition' Lecturer, and treated almost as an equal by his pupils, who united the qualities of a resident in College and an instructor or adviser of youth. Indeed, so little was the desirability of having at least two teachers among the Fellows appreciated that it was even suggested, soon after Austen Leigh became Tutor, that he should hold also the 'Composition' Lectureship. Two Deans there were, who exacted frequent attendances in Chapel; but the intercourse between Dean and undergraduate was often confined to a visit paid by the latter to the former at 9 A.M., when he expressed on a visiting card, in excellent Latin, the undoubted historical fact that he had not attended morning Chapel, and the promise (which it was prudent to keep) that he would be there in the afternoon.[1] So there was but little of the influence of older men brought to bear on the younger, and little inducement for an active-

[1] Mr. W. C. Green tells us (*Memories of Eton and King's*, p. 65) that he was once asked by the Dean to write a Latin Verse excuse for oversleeping himself. This half-humorous imposition he complied with by writing an imitation of Persius's third satire.

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minded Fellow to remain in residence. Money inducement was practically non-existent; he could retain his Fellowship elsewhere so long as he was a bachelor, and no amount of College work would enable him to keep it as a married man.

There was a similar difficulty as to buildings. Grand and spacious as these were, none of them except the Chapel and Hall were adequate for an enlarged College. There was but one apartment—and that dark and comfortless—which could fairly be called a lecture-room; and the living-rooms had been constructed so as to be suitable for a small and rich society, and for no other. They lodged the members of the old foundation luxuriously, but they furnished hardly any further accommodation, and they spread over such an extent of ground as to leave few suitable sites for new buildings. The only vacancies were in some of the Fellows' rooms; but the men of the old system had each a right to occupy a set of rooms as an occasional visitor, and it was of course hoped that the growth of the College would gradually increase the number of resident working Fellows.

Then, again, the connection with Eton, though it was invaluable in producing a constant supply of picked scholars, was of less importance, so far as an increase in the number of students was concerned. A considerable proportion of the best Eton scholars might—and in the result did—continue to come to King's, though the certainty of getting Fellowships

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had ceased; but it would take some time to persuade other Etonians that there was a fresh College for them to go to, especially in a University where they naturally gravitated to one large foundation; while promising men from other schools might easily be kept away by an unfounded belief in the numbers and exclusiveness of Etonian undergraduates at King's.

Such was the position of affairs in 1867, and such were some of the difficulties which the young Tutor (aged twenty-seven) would have to face, almost single-handed, as far as residents were concerned. He returned to Cambridge in the autumn of 1867, and became Tutor soon after the beginning of 1868. He found a society consisting of a Provost, a small but fluctuating number of resident Fellows, and about twenty undergraduates. Provost Okes was quite in sympathy with classical education, being himself a good scholar and an elegant writer of Latin verse, but it was not the tradition of the College that the Provost should take the initiative in changes; he was rather to act as an impartial arbiter between the suggestions of different juniors. Among the Fellows of any standing some were engaged in bursarial work, and some could hardly be said to be engaged in anything whatever; but there were two notable exceptions, whose acquaintance the reader has already made in the last chapter.

William Ralph Churton was a learned theologian, a man of saintly nature and ascetic habits, good

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sense, and loyalty. He had held the office of Tutor since its revival in November 1865, and, though the work was not really congenial to a man of his tastes and disposition, he had performed it most conscientiously, and had taken the first steps in various directions—*e.g.* the standard to be required for entrance to the College—which were to be pursued further by his successors. He now most willingly resigned the Tutorship, retaining his post as Dean. He could always be trusted to vote in favour of moderate reform; but his main interests were rather ecclesiastical than academical, and his shy, absent manner made him unfit to deal with the ordinary undergraduate.

Henry Bradshaw, whose name is held in reverence by many generations of Kingsmen, was a man of equally pure and unselfish nature, but cast in a very different mould. The reader must be prepared for frequent allusions to this remarkable man, for indeed it would be difficult to write anything about King's in the latter half of the nineteenth century without introducing him constantly. Bradshaw was at this time the one man in the College who wielded a real power over the minds of his juniors; and the influence which he exerted, though very strong and real, was of a peculiar nature. It made the thoughts of his young friends clearer, their expressions more lucid, their characters firmer; but it did not attempt to alter opinions or tastes. Men of all kinds sought

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his society; they enjoyed it and profited by it, remaining in bent of mind very much what they were before—students, athletes, free lances, ascetics—anything, in fact, except prigs. As a solvent of priggism and humbug his companionship was almost irresistible. His was a powerful mind, apparently engrossed by studies outside the interests of living humanity, but retaining to the full the sympathy of man for man. He was now in the prime of life, but a good deal older than Churton or Austen Leigh.[1] It was a great advantage to the latter to find him in residence. Bradshaw, with William Johnson (afterwards William Cory), an Eton master of ability so great as to amount to genius, had conceived an idea of the proper lines for College development; and this idea was taking shape in the minds of others. Acting partly under their inspiration, but contributing also a great deal of his own modest wisdom to the performance of the task, the new Tutor led the reform in the direction from which it has never swerved. Delightful as Bradshaw was as a companion, and invaluable as he showed himself as a confidant in special emergencies, his time was occupied in matters outside his own College, and his nature was such as to make him unwilling to interfere in what was not directly his own business. He

[1] The Editor has been unable, in giving an account of Henry Bradshaw, to avoid repeating some things which have been already said by Dr. Prothero in his memoir of him, and by Austen Leigh himself in his History of the College.

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hardly ever held any College office, he seldom served on internal Committees. He was useful, therefore, rather as an occasional referee than as a helper in ordinary daily difficulties. The Tutor had to make his way through these, with very little assistance. He could console himself, however, with the reflection that the ultimate authority rested with the whole body of Fellows assembled at the three great Congregations of the year, and that in this body he was always sure of receiving a large measure of support.

The body of voters upon whom he could rely consisted almost entirely of the younger Fellows, bred up, indeed, under the old system, but after the introduction of the reforms in that system which have been mentioned above, and during the more strenuous years which succeeded the abandonment of the privileged degree in 1850. These men were neither theorists nor doctrinaires; many of them were Conservatives in their general ideas, and all were loyal Etonians. But they were aware that the education of a small body of close Scholars was not a worthy, or at least not a sufficient, use of the noble foundation of Henry VI.; and they felt, perhaps, that the little society described in the last chapter, delightful as it had been to them while they enjoyed it as undergraduates, had kept them too much outside the full stream of University life. In any case a Parliamentary Commission had elaborated a new constitution for the College, and the new Tutor, one

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of their own number in whom they had complete confidence, was giving up his chances of success in other lines of life in order to inaugurate it. They were determined, therefore, to support him; but there was another obstacle to surmount besides those difficulties that were inherent in the nature of the case. A certain number of the older Fellows (all of whom have long passed away) took a very different view of the situation. They wished to secure the preservation of their vested interests, and their juniors were perhaps somewhat too ready to stigmatise them as grasping. The truth rather was that they were out of harmony with the tendencies of the age. Most of them probably would have been ready to sacrifice money for a cause which appealed to them; but though they loved the King's of the past, in which they had been brought up, and for which some of them had done good work, a large miscellaneous College, departing, as it was likely to do, in many ways from traditions which they held in great respect, was an ideal which had no charms for them. Some of these men were therefore to be reckoned with as probable opponents, and such for a considerable time they were; although it proved in the end that only one of them was disposed to proceed to extremities. The points on which the contest turned, and the issue of the struggle, will shortly be seen.

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CHAPTER VI

THE AWARD AND THE EIRENICON[1]

'I SUPPOSE you are still at Kinwarton; but, as there will be nothing important in my letter, it will reach you soon enough anyhow. I don't know whether you are aware that I was finally made Tutor last Tuesday. The office does not seem at all likely to be a sinecure.' This extract from a letter to one of his brothers (February 1868) is characteristic of the new Tutor, who was certainly not in the habit of exaggerating the importance of his own concerns; but it would have been difficult for anybody then to guess what an epoch this was to prove in the development of the College. He describes the process of his appointment more graphically in a letter to one of his sisters: 'The Educational Council met last Monday to deliberate about a Tutor, but decided

[1] It has been found impossible to avoid making this Chapter, and that headed 'Reform of Statutes,' somewhat technical; and the details of College legislation will hardly appeal to the general reader. The Chapters are, however, necessary, in order to give a connected history of the development of King's, and they throw a strong light on the activity, clearness of view, and patience of the subject of the Memoir. The dispute narrated on pp. 95–107 was wholly concerned with the question, how far the vested interests of individual Fellows on the Old System were to be allowed to obstruct the introduction of the New.

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that they would not be precipitate and adjourned till yesterday, when they nominated me. I had an amusing interview with the Provost yesterday, in the course of which he told me I was very young, and asked whether I was prepared to accept the office, which—as he truly remarked—is not at present very laborious or very lucrative. I told him I was; and there will be another meeting of the Council on Tuesday, when the Provost will confirm the appointment, unless they can discover any further formalities to go through.'

The mention of the 'Educational Council' bears witness to a peculiarity of the situation which was to constitute a real drawback to the position of the writer. The Tutorship was an office which had fallen wholly into abeyance, the supervision of the small body of Scholars being left to the Provost; and when the office was revived at the end of 1865, the holder was not really admitted to the hierarchy of College authorities. The Statutes of 1861, though rather vague on this point, seemed to recognise specially as 'officers' the holders of annual offices—viz., the Vice-Provost, Deans, and Bursars, while the Tutors and Lecturers were relegated to another Statute, and were called 'Educational Officers.' As such they were members of the 'Educational Council' which dealt with the teaching of the undergraduates, though even in this body it was difficult at first for the Tutor to exercise the influence properly

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belonging to his post. Meanwhile the appointment and dismissal of stipendiary members (including all the Chapel Choir) and servants was committed to a different body, called the 'Provost and Officers,' and this was held to mean the 'Provost and *Annual* Officers.' They had to meet for these purposes, and naturally fell into the habit of meeting at stated intervals; and this fact (and the traditions of the place) resulted in their forming an inner cabinet, which had more prestige than the newly invented 'Educational Council,' and to which the Tutor was not admitted, unless he were also a Dean. Their functions might not be very important, although a Tutor, whose pupils were bound to attend the Chapel services, might reasonably wish to express his opinion on matters connected with the Choir. But the real point was that the exclusion of the Tutor from an authoritative body in the College tended unduly to diminish the importance attributed, and the respect paid, to his office. A curious instance of the prevalence of the notion that the Provost and Officers were the executive authority (even when the action to be taken concerned education) is furnished by the fact that when the Governing Body finally decided, in June 1872, to provide twelve Open Scholarships, it was left to that body, and not to the Educational Council, to carry out the vote as they thought fit. The anomaly was not finally removed until the Statutes of 1882 came into operation.

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The letter to his brother, which has been quoted above, tells also of an impending crisis. 'The Committee which has been sitting on Fellowships has been a fruitful source of tragedies. Bendyshe[1] thinks that he has discovered that we have no legal power to give any at all beyond the number of forty-six; in which case it would be a curious question, what is to be done with Durnford and Smith, who have been illegally elected. Accordingly a report has been drawn up to say that we are not sure whether we can vote any, instead of recommending *how many* and of *what value* to vote. I have declined to append my name to this valuable document.'

To have refused to elect any Fellow whatever for some years would indeed have been disastrous at a time when it was important to attract the best Etonian scholars under a new system; but this calamity was averted by the good sense of the College. When it came to the point, one of the younger Fellows somewhat contemptuously proposed that the report should not be considered, and that the Committee should be relieved of their functions. Thereupon Bendyshe himself, by a skilful change of front, proposed and carried an amendment to the effect that the compromise of 1864, under which alternate Fellowships were to be filled up, should not be disturbed. The struggle, however, was inevitable;

[1] Thomas Bendyshe, one of the Senior Fellows, and the principal champion of vested interests.

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and, though averted in the case of Fellowships, it developed into a fierce war, waged, in true Homeric style, over the body of an innocent Scholar.

It was necessary, as we have already seen, that, before anything else was done to introduce the Statutes of 1861, the twenty-four Eton Scholarships should be filled up. No non-Etonian could be elected till this number had been completed. The full term of a Scholarship was between six and seven years; but the average (allowing for a considerable deduction in the case of those elected Fellows) would be a good deal below six years. At least four Scholarships must therefore be given every year to maintain the full twenty-four; and more, in order to mount to that, from a lower number. The stationary party in the Governing Body declined, however, so far as in them lay, to sanction more than *three*; three being the minimum allowed by the Statutes during the transition period. At the election of 1867 five Scholarships had been offered for competition at Eton, and four had been filled up. When the time for the next year's election was drawing near, the College decided to offer three fresh Scholarships, and also to consider the Scholarship not awarded in 1867 available as a fourth. Thereupon (on July 1, 1868) Bendyshe appealed to the Visitor, the Bishop of Lincoln, to protect his vested interests, which, as he alleged, had been infringed by the determination of the majority to fill up the Eton Scholarships too

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rapidly. His appeal might be deficient in dignity—as it certainly was in candour and reasonableness—but it was at all events excellent reading to anybody with a sense of humour. The appellant by implication represented himself and the other barristers among the Fellows, and also the curates (the curates being perhaps thrown in to attract the favourable notice of the episcopal Visitor) as poor persons, to whom the emoluments of their Fellowships were of great importance, trampled upon by a set of rich young Eton Masters. Regardless of the fact that the Eton Masters numbered but seven out of a body of about fifty, and that of these seven only two had been present at the meeting which passed the vote against which he appealed, he said, 'All disqualifications as to poverty having been abolished or fallen into abeyance, many of the Fellows are in possession of considerable private means, and are quite indifferent to the income they derive from the College. This is especially the case with the Eton Masters, who make a large income at a very early age simply by teaching what they have already been taught. They are very anxious to increase the number of Scholarships, which would in many cases be beneficial to their pupils, and some of them have relations and friends for whom they would like to make lucrative posts in the College by increasing as fast as possible the number of undergraduates,' and a good deal more to the same effect. The allusion to 'some of them' who wished to provide posts for their

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relations could hardly have been intended for anyone but the Tutor's brother Edward. He declares that it has been calculated that the expenses of the Scholarships are in the current year 1,000*l.* more than they would have been under the old Statutes; and, passing over in silence the fact that this rise had been entirely neutralised by the saving effected through the suppression of alternate Fellowships, boldly arrives at the conclusion that 'the sums to be divided between the Provost and Fellows have been . . . proportionately diminished.'

As far as any principle was discernible in this appeal, it was that each Fellow had a paramount claim to a definite share of the surplus income of the College, after the payment of necessary expenses, and that the majority had no right to pass any vote which would have the effect of diminishing that share. Such a view, if carried out fully, would have placed a majority, however large, at the mercy of a minority, however small, and would have made progress impossible except in the event of absolute unanimity.

The presentation of the appeal became known in College shortly before the Eton Election, and placed the electors in a considerable difficulty. They were bound by the College vote to give four Scholarships, if four suitable candidates presented themselves; yet it was conceivable that if the Visitor decided in favour of the appellant, the authority on which they relied might be taken from under their feet, and that

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the fund out of which the new Scholar was to receive his emoluments might be required for another purpose. They decided to elect him conditionally, subject to notice of the appeal. The boy was left in an ambiguous position; he received for the present neither letters of dismissal from Eton, nor notice to present himself for admission at King's; and his fortunes and prospects during the next year varied with the shifting phases of College politics.

The appeal was presented to Bishop Jackson; but about six months later, before he had had time to decide it, he was translated to London, and the See of Lincoln was given to Christopher Wordsworth. The change was a double misfortune in view of the particular purpose; it delayed matters, and it substituted, for a man well versed in the duties of Visitor, one who, learned and saintly as he was, did not prove successful in coping with an intricate legal problem. His predecessor had invoked the assistance of counsel in a similar case; Bishop Wordsworth unfortunately did not adopt this expedient on the present occasion, although the legal question raised was somewhat intricate, and although the consequences of his decision were likely to be of great importance to the College.

A spirited answer to Bendyshe's appeal was presented to the new Visitor in March 1869, signed by twenty-seven Fellows. They denied the inherent right of any Fellow to a share of the *whole* surplus

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income, and stated that, as a matter of fact, the appellant's income had not been less than it would have been had the old Statutes continued. The next act in the drama was the offer of a so-called compromise by the appellant. Under this scheme the disputed scholar was to be admitted, but only three were to be elected in 1869 and 1870, and no provision was made for subsequent years. He was to withdraw a part, but a part only, of his contentions. Naturally the Governing Body would have none of this. Next came a direction from the Visitor that 'in the interests of peace' only three Scholarships should be declared vacant in 1869, followed by a request from twenty-seven Fellows that the Bishop should retract this direction. At last, on July 17, the thunderbolt fell. The Visitor gave his long-expected decision, which was somewhat difficult to understand, but which certainly did not err on the side of indifference to the claims of vested interests. Far from allowing a majority of the Governing Body to determine what proportion of the residual income should be devoted to dividends[1] of Fellowships, and what to other collegiate purposes, it affirmed the right of each individual Fellow under the Founder's Statutes to receive dividends calculated on the average of the last seven years, and also to receive a progressive

[1] Each dividend was fixed at 30*l.* for a senior, and 20*l.* for an ordinary Fellow. The question to be decided each year was, how many of such dividends should be voted.

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increase 'if there should appear from the said average to have been a reasonable prospect of an improved value of revenue.' For this purpose he directed that two actuaries (and a third in case of disagreement) should be employed to ascertain what these vested rights amounted to, the expenses of the inquiry being paid by the College; and declared that when these claims had been satisfied the Governing Body might fix the number of Scholarships to be offered in each year as they chose. He ended, somewhat inconsistently, though no doubt out of kindness of heart, by ordaining that the disputed Scholar should be forthwith admitted, and should receive all the emoluments which would have been paid to him, had his admission taken place at the normal time.

This decision both puzzled and alarmed the College. No chance of increase could possibly be deduced from *an average*; but the meaning of this ambiguous sentence probably was, that the chance of a progressive increase in the future was to be judged by the existence or non-existence of a tendency to increase within the limits of the seven years. It was unnecessary, however, to appoint two experts to make a calculation which could be completed by any ordinary man in five minutes; and the actuaries, unwilling perhaps to pocket their fees without earning them (one of them also being instructed by the appellant), showed an inclination to go into all the details of the College property so as to show the

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probability of an increased income from general considerations, apart from the particular circumstances of the prescribed seven years. The authorities of King's at this point asked the Bishop how they were to interpret his decision, so far as the 'average' was concerned, and whether the inquiry was to be limited to the prescribed years. He answered by declaring that it was not his intention 'to involve the College in any intricate and complex calculations,' and he explained his somewhat cryptic sentence about the 'average' by saying that an 'equitable allowance' should be made, if it should appear from the inquiry 'that there had been a progressive increase in the value of such dividends during that period.'

There had been no such progressive increase; and the appellant, seeing that this limited inquiry would not suit his views, appealed to the Visitor to allow the admission of more general evidence from the College books. The Bishop did not assent to this request; on the contrary, he said that 'the calculation was to be grounded on the basis of that septennial average, and on no other.' This answer seemed conclusive, and so no doubt he thought it was; but unfortunately the actuaries had now got the bit between their teeth, and in the end all the College accounts were laid before them.

In 1870, whatever divergence of view there might be as to the proper employment of the revenues,

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there was no difference of opinion as to the probability of their growth. In all Austen Leigh's letters it is remarkable that, however diffident he may be as to his chance of being allowed to use the money for the purposes of education, he has no manner of doubt that the money will be there to use. There was no hint, then, of agricultural depression; while it was known that King's possessed farms not yet leased at rack rents, and copyholds for lives which had not yet fallen in, and that they were also paying off the capital of former loans, the extinction of which would before long add to their net income. The Duke of Cleveland's Commission of 1872 on University property reported in accordance with this general anticipation, and on that report the Universities Act of 1877 was based. Indeed, it was then expected that the contributions of the Colleges to the University, exacted under that Act, would be largely paid out of additions to income. It was to be expected therefore that, if the actuaries were once allowed to go outside the letter of the decision and consider the general probabilities of the case, they would open out a fine vista of enhanced dividends to anyone who claimed the benefit of their calculations; and this expectation was verified by the event. They pronounced their award on November 26, 1870. They stated that they had 'considered the question under all its aspects,' and they assigned to the older Fellows an income rising

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by degrees from thirteen dividends in 1871 and 1872 to seventeen dividends (or 510*l*. for seniors) after 1887! They coolly suggested that, in order to make these payments easy, the College should restrain expenditure on permanent improvements of their property for a year or two, and ended with an almost comical provision, retaining for the thirteen seniors (of whom the appellant was one) their right to dine at a 'high and separate table reserved on the daïs in the Hall.'

The award was immediately approved and sanctioned by the Visitor, who seemed unaware how far it went beyond the limits laid down by himself. To proclaim an indefeasible right to dividends on the existing scale was in itself a serious step, and even this (in the events which afterwards occurred) would have greatly embarrassed the College; it was far worse to give the Fellows a fixed right to an augmented income in an uncertain future, in which the fluctuations of revenue might well make a diminution almost inevitable. But the majority were placed in a great difficulty. They had no intention of submitting without a struggle; but how were they to proceed? Were there any limits to the power of a Visitor? Could they 'mandamus' him and compel him to hear counsel? and must they pay the appellant's actuary? More than a year was spent in inconclusive deliberations, and in a state in which the relations between men who respected each

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other, and who ought to have been friends, were seriously strained. It was not pleasant to seem to assume a hostile attitude towards a Prelate of the eminence and worth of Bishop Wordsworth; while he on his part must have been sorely tried by the incessant references and petitions addressed to him. One is at least glad to remember that in the earlier part of the struggle (May 1869) he had been the recipient of a Latin letter of congratulation on his appointment, written by one of the leading reformers at King's, William Johnson, and presented to him in the College Hall. A further relief to the feeling of tension had been given when the Visitor, in answer to an appeal from Churton, directed that four Scholarships should be declared vacant at the election of 1870; and he again in 1871 declined to interfere when the College proposed to offer five. But, on the whole, the year 1871 was a time of disunion and anxiety, and there was no break in the clouds till the year was drawing to an end. *Then* it began to be clear that no one but the appellant intended to take advantage of the award. The Fellows who had sympathised with him up to a certain point, but who were really loyal to King's, felt it impossible to accept what would lay so great a burden on their College; and the moral validity of the award was much weakened by the discovery (due originally to the acuteness of one of the junior Fellows) that during the seven selected years the College had divided the income of at least seven

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years and a half, and had also treated as income a sum arising from minerals which ought to have been placed to capital.

With so general a feeling of goodwill and public spirit prevailing on all sides, it was not difficult to arrive at a settlement. The younger members, on their part, were quite willing to safeguard their own as well as their seniors' right to a reasonable amount of dividends. A Committee which had been appointed early in 1872 produced in June of that year a series of resolutions which were agreed to without a dissentient voice, and which constituted an agreement known in College as the 'Eirenicon.' Under this agreement the power of the majority to determine the amount of dividends was tacitly conceded. By this time the gradual reduction in the number of Fellows under the operation of the new Statutes had brought about a considerable diminution of expenditure. After each audit this saving was to be calculated on the basis of the number of dividends then voted, and might be used for open Scholarships and for other purposes of the new system. The agreement was at once sanctioned by the Visitor, and the appellant became a sort of pensioner, drawing an increasing income, which gradually rose to be nearly three times that of his brother Fellows, but taking no further part in College affairs. This was a happy termination of the struggle; but none guessed then how impossible would have been the situation from

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which the 'Eirenicon' saved the College. Had all the Fellows under the old system—had even a considerable minority—taken advantage of the award, the subsequent diminution in the external income of the College would have made not only the introduction of the new system, but also any decent maintenance of the old, impossible. And how long the incubus would have lain on the College may be shown by the fact that at the present time (1906) there are still seven Fellows entitled to dividends under the Founder's Statutes, who, if they were paid under the award, would get in the aggregate about 2,500*l*. more than they now receive. It may be worth while to add that the right of individual Fellows to a share of the whole surplus income of the College without a vote of the whole body of Fellows declaring what dividend was to be paid, which was allowed by Bishop Wordsworth in his decision, without argument or legal advice, was afterwards expressly negatived by his successor, Bishop King, sitting with Sir Walter (now Mr. Justice) Phillimore as his assessor, after hearing counsel on both sides in an appeal brought by one of the Fellows against the College in 1886.

Since the end of this struggle, which lasted from 1868 to 1872, there have been no serious disagreements in King's. Men have differed, and differed widely, on religion, on politics, on the amount to be spent directly on education, on the relative importance

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of different faculties, and indeed on every subject which engages the intellect; but they have known how to combine their differences with hearty good-will and forbearance towards each other. It is not making an exaggerated claim for the subject of this Memoir to say that his steady administration, his fairness and impartiality, his combined firmness and gentleness have been important factors in bringing about this result.

His own attitude during this crisis was just what might have been expected. He was, of course, whole-heartedly on the side of those whom the appellant called the 'scholastics,' who indeed might be said in a sense to be working for him. When the question before the meeting concerned the number of Scholarships to be voted he took the lead; when more legal or technical points came up for discussion he contented himself with supporting Mr. F. A. Bosanquet and other barrister friends who gave a great deal of time to the cause.

One of those who took a principal part in opposing the appellant recalls the infinity of time and trouble employed in putting the case clearly before the Visitor, and the vexation and worry of finding that no notice was taken of the case they were ready to prove, and adds, 'If it was all vexatious to us non-residents, what must it have been to the young Tutor who had devoted himself to working out the development of the College? No one without the

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ἐπιείκεια of Augustus could have calmly held his course through it all.'

He was at the same time getting the tutorial arrangements into shape, and gradually acquiring the position in the College which the Tutor ought to take. Support from resident members was very valuable at this time; and he must have been much pleased at receiving the following letter:

King's College,
December 5, 1870.

'DEAR AUGUSTUS,—I enclose you your share of the cheque I found in my door from Brocklebank when I came in just now. Please put the money to your own private account, and feel at liberty to use it as you think best for furthering the educational work of the College *in any way* that you think best. If you want part of it to help you to offer an Exhibition next year, you are of course welcome so to use it, but I don't want the gift *as such* to be put to any Exhibition fund. I want to do some little towards strengthening your hand as Tutor, and in that capacity you will often find means of laying out money to further the objects you have at heart, which you would not have nearly so great a facility of using if it were tied up by any College rules. I only wish it was more.

'Ever yours,

'HENRY BRADSHAW.'

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Austen Leigh had now settled down definitely into the life of a don, and—sociable as he always was—had begun to go into such society as Cambridge had then to offer. In his 'Recollections' he says, 'If one did dine out, it was probably in a College Hall. It seems strange now to look back and see that sometimes I went to dine with a friend in Hall at Trinity at 4.30 P.M.! You might imagine yourself in the last century.'

Inside the gates of King's greater consciousness of life and spirit was beginning to be felt. Another of the Kingsmen already mentioned must now be brought once more upon the stage, for at the end of 1869 the Tutor had the pleasure of welcoming the present Vice-Provost, Mr. Frederick Whitting, who returned into residence as Home Bursar, and began a little later his long service as First Estate Bursar. The two men had known each other for many years in the cricket field and elsewhere, but now the old friendship was strengthened, and ripened into an affection on both sides which lasted for the rest of their lives.

Besides the every-day business of a Tutor, and administrative work in the University, in which he soon began to take a part, he was very much occupied during the next ten or twelve years with the following subjects connected with College development; the provision of Exhibitions and Scholarships; the bringing together of a staff of Lecturers; the extension of

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the buildings, and the further reform of the Statutes. In April 1869 he writes to a brother, unfolding a large scheme for new buildings:

'Like you, I would rather build on the screen site, so would Churton, and I daresay many others. But we should not, I believe, carry a motion for that. 1. Because there is still a lingering fondness for the screen in many Kingsmen; 2. *and chiefly*, because we cannot afford it. A building there must be *very handsome*, and therefore not remunerative. If my proposed building fund flourishes, we may hereafter, with the assistance of private liberality, build there. At present I don't see how it is to be done, unless some Kingsman becomes a millionaire and leaves us his fortune. I intend my building to be cheap but not nasty. I am prepared, if necessary, to go as high as 350*l.* (for each set of rooms), but I hope for 300*l.* My plan is to *begin* a quadrangle which will enclose the Combination Room garden and part of King's Lane; the west side to consist of a block from the Library to the Provost's stables, inclusive; the south from the stables to Lawrance's house, with a gateway across the north end of Queens' Lane; the east from Lawrance's house back over the kitchen. This would not, after all, be a very small quadrangle; and I don't think we shall ever have a larger one in that direction, unless we buy up the Bull.'

This particular idea went no further at that time, though the College now—in 1906—show some

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inclination to revert to something like it. Meanwhile a less ambitious plan gradually took shape under the hands of the Bursars and the Tutor. Under this scheme the east front of Wilkins's building was to be carried on to the south along King's Parade. The only misfortune was that an old house occupied by a grocer named Cory, with memories reaching back beyond the Reformation, had to be demolished. It was also necessary to obtain the sanction of the Copyhold Commissioners to a loan of 6,000*l.* Here was an opening for our old friend Bendyshe to intervene. Writing on November 11, 1869, the Tutor says: 'The Bursar wrote to the Copyhold Commissioners [at the beginning of the Long Vacation] for leave to contract a loan. They replied that they had received a letter of objections from Bendyshe, to which they asked for an answer. The Bursar replied that he was going abroad and could not give one till he came back. He came back at the end of October.' The Tutor chafes under these delays. 'I think the Bursar ought to have answered the letter and contradicted Bendyshe's lies before he went to Russia, and that even now it should be done at once.' He thinks it a pity that a Committee is appointed to negotiate with the Commissioners. He wishes the Bursar and himself, or the Bursar only '(for of course I should have helped him),' had been named to write the answer. 'I have drawn up a form of answer and written to Law about it, but

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it will not be very easy for us all to meet, and very difficult for us all to agree.' Again, on February 2, 1870, he says, 'The Committee unluckily appointed on November 30 to satisfy the scruples of the Copyhold Commissioners have at last met, and ordered a survey of the ground south of Wilkins's Building to be made. Then we must meet and agree on a letter. I have drawn up one of an innocent nature.'

It is satisfactory to know that these difficulties were soon overcome, and that 'Scott's Building,' with twelve sets of undergraduates' rooms in it, was completed in 1873. Sir Gilbert Scott managed cleverly to combine some likeness to Wilkins's Building with the demands of a more advanced Gothic revival; and the building, improved by the addition of statues of Henry VII. and Henry VIII., which, through the generosity of one of the Fellows, have been put into empty niches on the east front of the College, is generally admitted to be an ornament to King's Parade.

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CHAPTER VII

TUTOR AND DEAN

THE last chapter has shown us what an uncomfortable state of tension existed in King's between 1868 and 1872, and how much the Tutor was engaged in helping to clear away the obstructions which delayed the introduction of the New System. Nor was this his only special task; for before the close of this period—viz., in the autumn of 1871—he added materially to his work by taking, in addition to the Tutorship, the office of Dean. This arrangement had the advantage of introducing him into the charmed circle of 'Provost and Officers,' and the discipline of a small and orderly body of undergraduates, over whom he already had a hold as Tutor, was not a very laborious affair. The Deans, however, had also, subject to the traditional and rather shadowy authority of the Provost, to manage a Cathedral establishment and provide for a Cathedral service in the great Chapel, and the Legislature and the College had combined to make this a critical period in the history of the Chapel services. The former had passed the University Tests Act; the latter had, through a Committee, ordered important changes in the composition and government of the Choir.

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The musical services of those days were not destitute of a certain solid grandeur; but they had little of the refined and devotional character which the present generation are accustomed to associate with them. The choristers were boys from the town, who received a sufficient musical education, but, as to other subjects, were indifferently instructed on weekdays, and not at all on Sundays; and, until the end of 1871, they added to the task of singing in Chapel, that of waiting in Hall. The six regular lay clerks were common to King's and Trinity Colleges. Of the two tenors, who for many years shared the work (neither of them being really adequate for the purpose), one was an adventurer, who had clambered into a degree and competed for a prize poem; the other was a venerable grey-haired gentleman who was also librarian of King's. It is true that, a little before this time, Dr. Hopkins, the organist at Trinity, had secured for the joint Choir the services of a young relative of his own, who proved to be no less a person than Mr. Edward Lloyd; but he was too good a vocalist to be retained very long.

There was but little variety in the music performed; unaccompanied services were unknown; no hymns were sung, and (we may add) no sermons were preached. But the College now, becoming alive to these deficiencies, had appointed a Committee to suggest improvements, and had adopted their recommendations; while at the same time the authorities of

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Trinity had given notice of their intention to employ a separate Choir of lay clerks after Midsummer 1871. It rested, therefore, with the Tutor (in conjunction with the senior Dean, Mr. Churton) to carry out a new system. Before long, hymns, sermons, unaccompanied services, became parts of the Chapel routine; and Austen Leigh added a reform of his own by starting a Sunday class for the Choir boys, which he maintained for a considerable time. He had become impressed with the necessity of caring for the boys, and teaching them what their singing meant; and he was aware that, though there was in the town a Sunday school for choristers (managed by undergraduates), the King's boys could not attend it owing to the hours of their services. So he gave them lessons on the Prayer Book and took them into the Library to show them books illustrative of its history.

The Tests Act was before long the indirect cause of new regulations for attendances at Chapel. The Act itself, while forbidding the imposition of tests for any but theological degrees, had carefully maintained the connection between the Colleges and religion; and its provisions would have been satisfied by a conscience clause for Nonconformists. But it coincided with, and was in part the result of, an unsettlement of mind and a desire for liberty; and before long the undergraduates petitioned for a relaxation of the rules which at that time required their daily attendance at one service.

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One supplementary provision of the Tests Act allowed the substitution of a shortened form of service for full Morning Prayer on weekdays. No time was lost in applying to the Visitor to sanction a form, which was first used on January 27, 1872. Before long the time of Morning Prayer was moved on from 7.15 to 8; and various schemes for warming the Chapel were discussed, one of which was carried out a few years later. But these actual and prospective diminutions of the discomforts of early chapel did not extinguish the desire of the undergraduates for a change in the regulations; and Austen Leigh notes in his diary the conversations he had with different men—some wishing for a relaxation of the rule, some for its abolition.

The Tutor, though his own faith was firm, was quite able to enter into the difficulties of religious belief brought about by the trend of modern thought. A year and a half earlier, his brother Arthur had shown him a paper he was to read to a clerical society on the paucity of clergy. Augustus wrote him a long letter upon it, and in dealing with the unwillingness of many men to take Orders he said, 'It may be due partly to an increased earnestness and sense of responsibility; but—in the more intellectual—it is chiefly (I think) owing to the controversies of the day and the influence they have on the faith of young men. Of course the difficulty meets different minds in different forms; with some it is

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physical, with some metaphysical, with others critical and historical.

'Those who believe in Christianity must believe that these difficulties will pass away; but, till they do, we can hardly expect to see the most highly educated young men taking Orders in the same numbers as they did formerly.'

Some of the undergraduates now circulated a printed petition, asking for the complete abolition of compulsion. In this petition they expressed their belief that the supporters of the existing rule relied upon four considerations, two of which had reference to prescription and to discipline respectively, one to instruction in religion, and one to the protection of the weaker vessels who had no objection to attendance and derived good from it, but who would abstain—either owing to laziness or the tyranny of fashion—from attending, in the absence of compulsion. In opposition to these reasons they held that 'positive instruction would be far better gained by a course of sermons or lectures on the grounds of our belief,' and that 'the indirect improvement gained, and the undoubtedly good effects produced, by a common observance of Divine worship are more than likely to be blunted by so frequent attendance and by the fact of its being compulsory.'

The Tutor answered (December 18, 1871) in a private but printed letter, addressed to the under-

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graduates, giving the reasons which had made him, so far, a defender of the existing usage. He dismisses all arguments based on prescription or discipline. He lays most stress on the argument as to 'instruction in religion,' but requires the word 'education' to be substituted for 'instruction.' Actual instruction in religious belief should be in the lecture room, in private conversation, in the study of books, or in sermons. He proceeds: 'By religious education I mean that continual supply of spiritual food by which a man's will is strengthened to resist evil within and around him, and on which the health of his higher life depends. This food is supplied in public worship, made up (as it is) of prayer, praise, and the reading of the Scriptures. The direct object of public worship is not to convince a man of the truth of Christianity; it does so only indirectly (though perhaps most effectually) as he becomes conscious of the power gained by an earnest and believing use of it, a power which enables him to lead a Christian life.' He then deals with the various objections urged against compulsion, and adds: 'I do not lay much stress on the value of compulsory chapels as a protection from a false standard of popular opinion; but it is something in favour of the system that it protects men from themselves. I mean that it forces them to form a habit, which, if it is but a form at first, may yet become a reality, whenever sickness or sorrow or some other cause

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awakens in them a conscious want of spiritual strength and comfort. The channel is already cut, down which the fresh stream may run. No doubt it is only the weak who would fail to form fresh habits for themselves. But are we to ignore the weak? And are we quite sure that they are the minority?' He ends by earnestly requesting them to think the matter over in the Christmas Vacation, so as to insure themselves against a hasty decision; and, if they remain of the same mind next Term, to come to him individually and tell him so.

In the end, the rules for the Sunday services were maintained, subject of course to a conscience clause; but an attempt was made to lighten them, by dividing the morning service into two parts. For other days an alternative between attendance at the short morning service and a roll-call was introduced, in imitation of the rule prevailing at one or two of the Oxford Colleges, and it has ever since been maintained. The roll-call was to be at the same hour as the Chapel service, and was intended to insure that, whatever else were the cause which kept men away from Chapel, it should not at all events be love of bed. It is perhaps unfortunate that equality of hour is not always observed, and that, so far as it is observed, it does not carry with it equality of clothing. Not even the presence of the venerable figure who presided so long over the porter's lodge at King's could insure such a finished toilet as would be

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necessary for Chapel; and it is certainly believed that the roll-call is not incompatible with a renewed period of repose.

There were at the same time other directions in which progress was made in connection with the Chapel and its services. Thus: the Chapel was now thrown open daily to visitors; the brass standards (designed by the second Gilbert Scott) which stand on each side of the altar were put up; a design for a new reredos was commenced by W. Burges, R.A., who paid a visit to King's in connection with it; and the first sermons were preached after long years of silence—one by Churton in the spring, one by George Williams in the May Term, and one by Austen Leigh in the autumn. He had not written a sermon for some years, and he evidently bestowed much time and thought on the composition of his first address to undergraduates.

The Tutor had many advantages in dealing with the men. His nature was as far as possible removed from that of a don; he was sufficiently near them in age, and he had a genuine interest in all their sports. He set a consistent example of frugality and seriousness of life, and exacted a regular observance of the College rules; but he did this in such a manner and spirit as to rob all his exhortations of offence. A little collection was made, and for a long time preserved, of his official letters addressed to intellectual but unpunctual undergraduates; such models of

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good taste and good temper were these letters considered to be by the recipients.

At the same time he made his College rooms a pleasant meeting place for all his undergraduate friends. As soon as he could afford it, he bought a piano (characteristically balancing what might seem to be a selfish expenditure, by buying at the same time a gun for one of his brothers), and the men soon got to know where to go for pleasant music and conversation void of offence. He was, for the most part, too modest to assert himself in talk, and yet his society was always delightful; he listened so attentively to all that the younger men had to say, with such appreciation for their more serious remarks, and such hearty contagious laughter for their jokes. We feel sure that there are many University men of various ages who feel that they were the better for this intercourse.

'I remember well,' says one old pupil, 'how, in my first interview with him, his refinement of mind and courtesy of manner seemed peculiarly fitted to the spaciousness and the very air of King's.' Another, in a rather lighter vein, describes a dinner at the Tutor's to which he was invited as a raw Freshman, 'on which occasion I distinguished myself by dealing the cards at whist the wrong way round. But I fear I can't possibly do justice by any description to the kindly restrained amusement which he exhibited. I remember it very well. I really think

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that episode laid the foundation for the great regard which I gradually came to have for him.' And another Freshman, going to interview the Tutor officially, found him in the hands of his tailor, who was measuring him for a suit of clothes. He was much struck by the simplicity and absence of self-consciousness with which the Tutor talked to him while the yard measure was round his chest.

The men who came to his rooms were for the most part members of his own College, but others were often to be found there—men whose acquaintance he had perhaps made in the tennis court or on the cricket field, but whose visits to tennis court or cricket field represented only the lighter hours of an intellectual life. Two of his principal Trinity undergraduate friends were Mr. Arthur Balfour, the celebrated statesman, and the late Albert Meysey Thompson, well known (so long as his health lasted) at the Parliamentary Bar. The numerous undergraduates, who down to the end of 1904 received a warm welcome at the Provost's Lodge, probably never thought of the many generations of University men, of whom they were the lineal successors.

All through these early years of his life at Cambridge the family life at Bray was still going on; and his holidays were mostly devoted to his home (where the amusements included cricket, boating, and hunting) or to visits among near relations. He did, however, make an expedition in the Christmas

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Vacation of 1872–73 to join his younger brother at Dresden. The hospitable and homelike *pension* of Miss Kretzschmer was then in full swing—a place well known to many generations of Oxford and Cambridge men, where one was sure of either meeting or making friends. Augustus arrived early one morning after a long night journey, and was at once informed that there was to be a dance in his bedroom on the evening of the next day; it had been selected because it adjoined his brother's room, in which there was a piano. The dance probably meant little more than a meeting of the inhabitants of the house, with perhaps the addition of one or two Saxon officers, who heaped up in the passage their helmets, clanking swords, and long military cloaks. Among the guests in the house were Mrs. Adams and a young daughter, the latter of whom was afterwards to become the wife of his pupil and intimate friend, the present Bishop of Winchester.

'We got a little skating,' he says, 'learnt a little German, listened to a good deal of music, and spent a good many evenings at the theatre.' He saw a good deal of Mr. F. Warre Cornish and something of Mr. Arthur Sidgwick, for both of them were at Dresden that Christmas, and he gave some help to the chaplain of the English Church.

In the spring of 1872 there began to be some hope that the burden of the award would be lifted off the shoulders of the College. Exhibitions had

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already been founded by the generosity of individual Fellows, and had been awarded for several years. For these, and for admission to the College, an examination was to be held in April, and under a new Statute passed by the Governing Body in November 1871, and afterwards approved by the Queen in Council, it had become possible to change the place of examination for Eton Scholarships from Eton to Cambridge, and to hold it simultaneously with that already arranged for Exhibitions and admission. If only this could be done—if only they could then and there complete the magic number of twenty-four Eton Scholarships—there might be another examination in the summer for undergraduates already in residence, and the first Open Scholarships might be offered to two of them. 'It will be a success' (he writes, January 30, 1872) 'beyond my hopes if we really do have two Foundation Scholars before the end of the Easter Term 1872. I should then feel that we really had turned the corner. We have just reached the number of thirty undergraduates.' It proved, however, that arrangements could not be made for giving Open Scholarships until 1873.

The change of Statute which transferred the Eton Election to Cambridge (which was made on the initiative of King's, rather as it appears against the will of Eton) was useful for the immediate purpose, but it has not been an unmixed gain. Some sense of

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unity between the two Foundations is no doubt lost by the abolition of the solemn entry into Eton of the Provost of King's and his attendant 'Posers,' and the official welcome extended to them in the Cloisters of their old school. On the other hand, the annual provision of Examiners for a special purpose (particularly in these days of multiplied subjects) is perhaps more than the College could be expected to manage; and this difficulty would probably make the reintroduction of the old system impossible.

The question of the reform of the Statutes, which during the next six or eight years occupied so much of the Tutor's time and thought, is left to be dealt with in a separate chapter. But it was in this year that he began to add to his College duties by taking University work. He examined for the Bell Scholarships; the only payment being a dinner given by the Regius Professor of Divinity, which he valued as giving him an introduction to Dr. Westcott. Of a syndicate for the purpose of providing additional examination rooms, on which he served this spring, he says: 'It was not a success; everybody had their own scheme and voted against everybody else's, so at last we separated without reaching any conclusion.'

More fruitful, or at least more harmonious, were the conclusions of the Oxford and Cambridge Schools Examination Board, which he joined in the autumn. His service on this Board had the advantage of bringing him into contact with distinguished men

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from the other University—Jowett, Liddell, Edwin Palmer, &c.—and laid by degrees the foundations of the numerous Oxford friendships which he enjoyed during the remainder of his life. One of the most striking tributes paid to him after his death came from a distinguished Oxford friend, who wrote: 'I have constantly felt, and I am sure many here have felt, that the Provost's high and pure example of quiet, genial, dutiful conduct of academic and College life has been of the greatest help both directly and indirectly to us here in Oxford.' The same friend, in a notice contributed to the 'Oxford Magazine' of February 1, 1905, said of him: 'Modest, winning, unselfish, pre-eminently an English scholar and a gentleman, sympathising with the sports and tastes of young Englishmen, he quietly raised the College each year higher and higher without fuss or friction, without exciting either envy or opposition.'

But the claims of College administration and reform became this autumn so urgent as to leave little room for outside work. It was becoming necessary to make some more systematic arrangement for the allocation of the tuition fees and for the organisation of the teaching staff. Admirable lectures were given by men from other Colleges, but the Tutor's wish was to build up, by degrees, a staff of resident King's Lecturers who would live within the walls and exercise some oversight and influence out of lecture hours. There seemed to be now some

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chance that one of his contemporaries and friends would return into residence. There was little pecuniary inducement to hold out, but it was rightly surmised that the Deanship (which he was very ready to give up) and a modest Lectureship would satisfy the requirements of a patriotic Kingsman. But where was the income even of a modest Lectureship to come from? His own pay was miserably insufficient, and he was very unwilling to take any money for Lecturers out of the savings of the new Statutes, which were at present very much wanted for introducing Open Scholarships. 'The need of additional teaching,' he says (November 7), 'though of course partly caused by additional students, is much more owing to the increase and alteration in University studies with which we must keep pace, and to the awakening of the Colleges to their duty, as receiving tuition fees, and professing to supply teaching. If we had no pensioners we should still want more Lecturers.' 'I am at present (November 2) against taking anything from the Scholarship Fund to pay either Lecturers or Tutors.' His idea was that the demand for more teaching was independent of the new Statutes, and might fairly be supplied from the general funds of the College, without any real infringement of 'vested interests.'

The emoluments of the Tutorship he looks at entirely *ab extra*. 'As to the Tutor's stipend . . . the most important point for the College to consider is what position they would be in if I were suddenly to

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resign or die. The 100*l.* a year (or thereabouts) which I make by the Tutorship would not be likely to tempt a first-rate man to take the post, unless there were a nearer prospect of increase of pupils and income than now exists. The office would go begging (I fear) and fall to someone who would do the work very much ἐν παρέργῳ. I think this would be disastrous. But, on the other hand, I don't think that to increase the Tutor's stipend is the most pressing want. If you did it at once you would secure *no additional teaching power* to the College. And that is what we most want. All you would do would be to secure a successor to myself. . . . I am for founding one good Lectureship first, and as soon as possible.'

Small as was the income which he had assigned to himself in this letter, he soon found that he had overstated it. By November 11 he had discovered that his emoluments for six years had amounted to a gross total of 451*l.* 'My gains might have been somewhat greater if I had charged the tuition fee in every case. But I have not, as a rule, thought it fair to do so, when my pupils have been getting nothing from collegiate or inter-collegiate lectures. This applies to Fourth-year Honour men (who always coach) and occasional persons who read history, &c. . . . The regular deductions from my gross receipts are payments to Lecturers, printing, and, till very lately, entertainment of candidates. This year I shall have paid 110*l.* to Lecturers; rather

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above the average.' (The College was at the same time paying for Lecturers the annual sum of 540*l.*)

His friend, Mr. F. C. Hodgson, to whom the letters just quoted were addressed, had a greater sense of the inadequacy of the tutorial income than the holder of that office himself seemed to feel. He proposed to allot a stipend to him, while allowing him to retain the fees as before. The Tutor was of course grateful, but would have preferred a new system under which he would be paid wholly by a stipend, and merely collect the fees for the College. 'At present I must of course contrive to be the judge how much of the tuition fees, *plus* stipend, I ought to appropriate, and how much I must pay towards additional Lecturers. You will see that it is an awkward position.'

When the November meeting came the Tutor carried a motion creating a new classical Lectureship with a stipend of 150*l.* The destination of the tuition fees was at the same time reserved for the consideration of the Educational Council. In February 1874 Mr. Hodgson carried a proposal assigning to the Tutor a stipend of 150*l.* *plus* such a proportion of the tuition fees as should be determined. This proportion was (May 1874) fixed at one-third, so that henceforward he had a respectable salary, and one which would increase with the number of the undergraduates. Before long, however, he showed a disposition to share this sum with a colleague.

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Meanwhile his friend Mr. J. E. Nixon became Dean and Classical Lecturer, and returned into residence. A start was thus made in carrying out the policy of enlisting Fellows of some standing to serve on the teaching staff.

The Tutor was very unwilling to exact pecuniary sacrifices from his friends, or to lose their assistance on the Governing Body. One of them was threatening, in February 1874, to resign his Fellowship, so as to make room for a younger man. The Tutor protests against such an idea. 'We lose,' he says, 'about our best Examiner, and, what is more, one of the men whose opinion and help are most valuable at a crisis like the present, when, as I cannot but believe, our future success depends much on the wisdom of our immediate actions. At present we have not got beyond that stage in the College history in which we sorely want good and sensible non-residents to support the weakness of the resident body.' The strength of the residents was, however, growing, and his isolation in the educational work of the College was passing away. It required only a few years to produce a good body of Lecturers from among the members of the Foundation.

Austen Leigh had now ceased to be Dean, and was able to give more attention to the question of the reform of the Statutes, which was rapidly coming to the front, and which must occupy our attention for the whole of the next chapter.

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CHAPTER VIII

REFORM OF STATUTES

The present members of King's have good reason to be grateful to the earlier of the two University Commissions of the Victorian age—viz., that of 1856, and to the Statutes of 1861, which were the result of that Commission. Under these Statutes the College, while retaining its ancient connection with Eton, was able to start on a fresh career of usefulness by offering Open Scholarships and Exhibitions which indirectly and gradually led to the collecting of a considerable body of undergraduates; and was also provided with a liberal, if somewhat cumbrous, system of government. But these Statutes were not likely to be final. When once the first and most difficult step had been taken—when once profane hands had been laid upon the Statutes of the Founder, which had endured for centuries—it was a comparatively easy matter to amend new rules which had no prescription behind them, and which were obviously tentative and incomplete.

The attack upon the Statutes of 1861 came from two quarters: from reformers outside who wished to increase the importance and the wealth

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of the University in comparison with the Colleges which were its component parts, and also from those more distinctively College reformers who wanted, in some way or other, to divert money hitherto employed in Prize Fellowships, so as to make it available for the payment of teaching and research. The immediate result at King's of the first of these two motives for reform was that, while the party of progress within the College were still fighting against the vested interests which obstructed the introduction of the system of 1861—while the actuaries were still calculating the imaginary future income of the Fellows, and before the 'Eirenicon' had been born or thought of—the Tutor and his friends had to consider what answer they should give to a demand on the part of the University for assistance towards the stipend of a new Professor.

This was the beginning of a movement which was to go very far, but the immediate object was merely to found a Professorship of experimental physics. Austen Leigh, judging by what he heard from his mathematical and scientific friends, was not inclined to believe this to be the most pressing want. That *some* new Professorships are wanted he quite agrees. 'When new studies are introduced,' he writes (March 20, 1870), 'I think it may be possible for the University to provide teachers in those studies before the Colleges have had time to train men competent to teach them—*e.g.* in 1872

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Prothero etc. will be examined in philology; at present there is hardly an English book on the subject, and hardly a teacher to be got at in Cambridge. A really competent Professor of philology might therefore be a most useful institution. I think the same might be true of a Professor of English language and literature, especially for undergraduates who are going in for the Indian Civil Service Examination.' Next followed the consideration whether the College should found or help to found a particular Professorship, or should give money to a central fund under the control of a central body. He inclines to the latter view; the money would be equally taken away in either case, and a central body would be likely to spend it to the greatest advantage. There was a further doubt whether it was worth while in the present circumstances to bring the subject before the College at all. The contribution, if made, must come wholly out of the Fellowship dividends; and unfortunately, as things were, with the question of vested interests still undecided, it was likely that it would have to come wholly out of the income of the Fellows under the new system. This would constitute an almost intolerable hardship.

One curious feature of University reform movements has been the extent to which cross divisions have prevailed in the parties into which University men are split. Political Radicals have been academic

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Conservatives, and *vice versa*; reformers who emphasise College life and teaching are often at variance with those who are working for University concentration. One of the most prominent and ablest Liberals in King's was William Johnson. But he was by no means inclined to trust the University overmuch. At this juncture he wrote a pamphlet declaiming against the taxing of Colleges (or of non-resident Fellows) for the benefit of 'sinecure Professors,' and suggesting, what was always a favourite idea of his, the foundation of a Professorship attached to the College with a Statute drawn up by the College to secure the usefulness of the Professor.

But the fact was that the whole question had been raised prematurely, and could have no immediate solution. Austen Leigh had not begun at that time to take part in the government of the University. At present the College claimed all his care; and when the further reform of Statutes was taken up, as it was within two years from this date, it was from the internal point of view that the members of the College Committee appointed to draw up a scheme regarded it. The principal subjects which the Committee debated among themselves were the position and stipend of the Provost, the government of the College, the tenure of Fellowships, and the tenure of Scholarships. The Tutor led off (November 5, 1872) with a pamphlet containing suggestions for Scholarships and Fellowships. With regard to the former

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he proposed to diminish the excessive length of their tenure (six and a half years in the case of thirty-six out of the forty-eight Scholars), and to divide them into Entrance and Undergraduate Scholarships, so as to give a greater incentive to work at the University. He would also like—but does not venture to propose —to diminish the value (then about 150*l.*) of the Eton Scholarships, for a characteristic reason. He says that 'to offer a much larger Scholarship to boys in Eton College than can be gained elsewhere seems too much like bribing them to continue their education in a College which may possibly not be the best suited to their wants.' Everybody who knew him was aware that there was nothing that he personally desired more than to see the best Etonians at King's, and for that very reason he scrupled to hold out any inducement to them which might be illegitimate. As to Fellowships he proposed a limited tenure, with liberty of marriage to the Lecturers—not to the Tutors, whom he pictures to himself as a younger class of men, living in College, but ready to convert themselves into Lecturers whenever they should wish to marry.

In February 1873 Mr. Hodgson put forward a scheme for 'Studentships,' which were intended to be Prize Fellowships of smaller value. The following letter addressed to him by the Tutor, March 1873, will give some idea of what was in the minds of those who were moving in the matter, and of the spirit in which the Tutor himself entered into it.

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'My dear Hodgson,—What are the Statutes Commissioners to do? It seems to me that the most hopeful course would be something of this kind:

'Each to employ the Long Vacation in working out a rough draft of the Statutes as he would wish to see them (of course any amount of private conference would be advantageous). Then to meet formally—say October 1—and sit daily till, after a comparison of our respective drafts, we have chosen a final draft to be laid before the College in November. Probably in several cases we should wish to lay alternative Statutes before the College. All these would have to be printed.

'Then I should be for advising the College not to undertake the gigantic work on November 25, but to hold an extra session—say, from December 16 and on—till the work is finished.

'This is asking both Committee and College to give up much time; but I believe the work is worth doing well. And I am sure it cannot be done well without a sacrifice of time. No doubt we have sleeping partners on the Committee. Still I think there are four or five of us who mean work, and certainly there are some non-commissioners who would help.

'An extra session in December (or January or Easter 1874) seems to me necessary. And one might hope that the meeting would chiefly consist of men really interested in the work, and not of people who only sit to criticise the labours of others.

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'I don't think the prospect of Gladstone's (will he be Premier in 1874?) new University Commission ought to discourage us from going on. Trinity have laid their proposed new Statutes before the Privy Council, and feel themselves rather masters of the situation in consequence. And it seems to me that —in the same way—the best answer we can give to any extravagant reform suggested by people who don't understand the University is to have our own plan of reform actually ready. Of course if all that Gladstone will ask is a certain percentage of our income to feed Professors, *that* can easily be made to work into our own new Statutes by suppressing a certain number of Fellowships and Scholarships (or we might convert the next Provost into three or four Professors and suppress no Fellowships or Scholarships). Will you talk to our colleagues in London, as occasion offers, about these points? Impress on them that there is a lot of work to be done. And ask them when they would like a formal meeting to arrange for the future.'

The question of the tenure of Fellowships was really much the most important of those touched by the Committee. The Fellowships at King's were all held for life, with no limitation except that marriage was forbidden; while the prevailing tone in University circles was becoming more and more opposed to Prize Fellowships held for life, and the enforcement of celibacy as a condition of holding them

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seemed an anachronism. On the other hand, so long as life Fellowships remained, celibacy had the two obvious advantages of producing vacancies, and of accentuating the family tie between the different members of the corporation. It was easier for bachelors to treat the College as a home, and to identify themselves with its interests. So the two old characteristics of Fellowships, life tenure and celibacy, were likely to stand or fall together. They fell, principally because everybody felt how urgent was the need of providing a decent career and maintenance for the teachers, and how essential it was, with this object in view, to allow them to marry. It will be seen that an attempt was made in King's at a subsequent period to give this privilege to the working Fellows and not to others; but this endeavour to discriminate between the two classes was disallowed by the Commissioners appointed under the Act of 1877, and would have been difficult to work; and to maintain married *Prize* Fellows with a life tenure would have seemed to everyone a manifest waste of endowment money. A limited tenure, with no restriction as to marriage, and with an elastic prolongation for those who were doing academic work, was the obvious solution of the difficulty. The liberty to marry was an advantage to the working Fellows in comparison with their own former position; the prolongation of a limited tenure was an advantage to them in comparison with the position

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of the Prize Fellows. At the same time the limited tenure of the latter class increased the number of students who could be elected to Fellowships, and this increase gave a larger choice to the authorities in the selection of Tutors and Lecturers. But these advantages, whether to the College or to its working staff, being indirect, escaped the notice even of some acute observers, one of the more conservative of whom declared that the proposed change would not 'set free a single halfpenny of the College revenues for the assumed requirements.' When the question was first brought before the College a general resolution in favour of a limited tenure was only carried by eight to seven, a division which showed that the minds of the Fellows were hardly yet ripe for the inevitable change.

Even inside the Committee there was no unanimity. The Tutor, writing to Mr. Hodgson (October 13, 1874), says of the forthcoming Report, 'We have confined ourselves to the barest facts. We disagree too much to venture on our reasons.' An attempt to make conversions by argument was necessary, and this task was undertaken by more than one individual member of the Committee. Mr. Hodgson led off with a pamphlet in which he showed (among other things) that the permission to marry was rendered necessary by the increasing number of laymen who held College offices, and who could not find their eventual home in country rectories. The Tutor

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followed (October 17, 1874) with a fly-sheet in which he indulged in a reassuring forecast of the effect of marriage on College society. He held that in a College of the size of King's it was very unlikely that there would be at any time an undue paucity of bachelors, while room might be found within the walls even for married men. 'We have here a great advantage over most Colleges in the very fact that our space allows us, if we please, to provide a building for married Fellows, instead of banishing them to Trumpington Road, or to one of the villas which are springing up at the West-end of Cambridge.' The Governing Body were so far moved by the arguments of the reformers as to decide eventually in favour of terminable Fellowships with prolongation for teachers, allowing marriage for some at least of the latter class, and giving the Governing Body power to extend the duration of the Fellowship in the case of 'persons eminent for learning or science, or of persons whose studies are likely to be of material service in the promotion of any art or science.'

Another important question dealt with in the Tutor's pamphlet was that of College government. 'Being slightly heretical myself on that subject,' he says, 'I have explained my own views.' The constitution of the College has already been described as being democratic but clumsy. All the principal legislative acts were performed at the three general Congregations of the year; and the motive power

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came chiefly from non-residents, who attended them in uncertain and varying numbers. The Tutor complains that this system works slowly and capriciously. A slightly different quorum attends each meeting, and those who come often vote without hearing more than half the argument.

The constitution was probably the best that could be devised at the time, but the projected reform in the tenure of Fellowships, and the opening out of a career for academic workers, would now produce a thorough change in the comparative strength of residents and non-residents. 'All the experience of age, and a much larger proportion of the intelligence of the College, will hereafter be found among the residents.' The remedy would be, either to hold many more Congregations with a diminished quorum, or, still better, that the principal Congregation of the year, always held at the end of November, should delegate from time to time such powers as it chose to the Provost and Officers (strengthened by the inclusion of Tutors and Lecturers), or to some other Standing Committee. The College was not, however, prepared at this stage to pass any resolution in favour of such delegation of powers.

Among the other subjects which engaged the attention of the reformers, there was no difficulty as to the one important amendment required in the Scholarship Statute—viz. the division of the Eton Scholarships into the two classes of Entrance and

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Undergraduate Scholarships, so as to reward progress made at the University, as well as work done at school. On the other hand the College declined to follow the Tutor in a rather eager attempt to diminish the emoluments of future Provosts. He proposed that they should receive (in addition to the Lodge) only four times a Fellowship dividend. This, as he then believed, would amount to 1,200*l.*, and would thus have been practically equivalent to the 1,000*l.* *plus* the dividend of two Fellowships which he himself received during his Provostship; but it is fortunate that the College rejected the proposal in its original shape, for the four Fellowships would in the end have amounted only to 400*l.*[1] Austen Leigh, however, at that time always contemplated the Provost's taking, in addition, some other College office, either educational or administrative.

There remained the difficult question of contributing to the funds of the University, a contribution which seemed more and more certain to be imposed upon the College, whichever political party might occupy the Treasury Bench in the House of Commons. The Tutor made no secret of the fact that his first object was College teaching. 'We want to strengthen and improve the College teaching in all subjects, and believe that, by doing so, and using College endowments more for that purpose, we shall be doing the

[1] The Fellowship Dividend, which was then expected to reach 300*l.*, has now dropped to a bare 100*l.*

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best thing for education and (indirectly) for research. But we cannot do this if all our available funds are made over to the University.' . . . 'This' (*i.e.* the slow growth of the College income) 'makes it difficult, for the next twenty years, to satisfy the claims of the University, and at the same time to organise and pay a really efficient College staff (which is the object I have most at heart).' He quite agreed, however, that it would be politic to anticipate the Legislature, and carried a motion in favour of joint action with other Colleges. The Governing Body were ready to offer to the University 5 per cent. on their distributable income, and something more in the shape of 'living agents;' but what that 'something more' should be could at present only be mentioned in a shadowy and undefined manner. It was felt that the matter was best dealt with in the following vote, which may be commended as a model of vagueness, wherever vagueness is the object. It was agreed 'that the College, in addition, would be prepared to contribute to the salaries of a Professor or Professors, Lecturer or Lecturers; the amount of such salaries, the mode of election to the offices, and conditions of their tenure to be settled by negotiation with the proper authorities.'

On these lines a small Committee was appointed to confer with the authorities of Trinity College; and it was very much on these lines that an agreement between the two Colleges was provisionally drawn up.

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We are now reaching the date of the Universities Act, and it is perhaps worth our while to recapitulate what has been said before, so as to see how far the College had got in the direction of reform by their own unaided efforts.

(1) They had declined to make any radical alteration in the emoluments or position of the Provost; the principal change authorised in this Statute being the reversion of the appointment to the Crown instead of the Visitor, in case of the failure of the College to elect; (2) they had declined, but only by narrow majorities, to sanction a delegation of the powers of Congregations to Committees; (3) they had agreed that Prize Fellowships should be terminable, and that marriage should be allowed in the case of some of the teachers; (4) they proposed the division of the Eton Scholarships into two classes, viz., Entrance and Undergraduate Scholarships; (5) they voted, without a dissentient voice, in favour of the admission of the Tutor or Tutors to the Board of 'Provost and Officers;' (6) they were prepared to give to the University 5 per cent. (and something more) of their distributable income.

August 10, 1877, the day on which the 'Universities of Oxford and Cambridge Act' received the Royal Assent, was an important epoch in the modern history of the two old Universities. Reform was now a certainty, and discussions, which had before been theoretical, became urgent and practical, full of

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eagerness or anxiety, according to the sympathies of the talkers. The immediate object of the Act was, no doubt, to enable or require the Colleges 'to contribute more largely out of their revenues to University purposes, especially with a view to further and better instruction in art, science, and other branches of learning, where the same are not taught, or not adequately taught, in the University.' But it was certain that the opportunity would be used for the purpose of introducing other changes, and indeed the Act stated that another of its objects was to alter the conditions under which Fellowships were held.

The Colleges were allowed until the end of 1878 to make Statutes for themselves, but these Statutes were liable—and on some points likely—to be disallowed by the Commissioners appointed under the Act. If by the end of 1878 a College had not made Statutes, or if its Statutes so made did not receive the approval of the Commissioners, they in their turn had the power of making Statutes for the Colleges. Each College for which they so made Statutes might appoint three of their members to be Commissioners *ad hoc*, but it was specially provided that the College Commissioners should never constitute a majority at any meeting. The Colleges had a further safeguard in the fact that the Statutes must be approved by the Queen in Council, and might be appealed against by persons interested; and a special 'Universities Committee' of the Privy Council

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was constituted by the Act, in order to hear these appeals. The names of the Commissioners appointed under the Act for Cambridge met with very general approval. They included the then Lord Chief Justice (Sir Alexander Cockburn), the Bishop of Worcester (Dr. Philpott), Lord Rayleigh, the Right Hon. E. P. Bouverie, Dr. Lightfoot (afterwards Bishop of Durham), Dr. (afterwards Sir G.) Stokes, and G. W. Hemming, Q.C. In spite of the controversies which followed on particular points, this Commission retained the confidence of the University; and the thoroughness with which they did their work is perhaps shown by the small number of amending Statutes which the Cambridge Colleges have produced since that date, in spite of the ease with which such Statutes are now passed.

At King's it was soon decided to hold a Christmas session, and there to make such progress as might be possible in settling the principles on which new Statutes should be drawn up. The session lasted three days, and was certainly rather a heavy form of Christmas entertainment, though so many old friends could not meet without some cheerfulness and fun.

Different Fellows had prepared strings of motions on different subjects to be laid before the meeting, and one or two had developed their arguments in printed pamphlets. The Tutor (who had now become also Vice-Provost) had many proposals, but he particularly undertook the vexed question of University

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contribution. His offers would not have satisfied the Commissioners, but he was ready to go further in that direction than the majority. In other respects the Governing Body were in a progressive mood, though at a subsequent session, about half a year later, something of a conservative reaction set in. Thus, their first decision was that no Fellowship should be vacated by marriage; their subsequent vote confined this privilege to resident workers. Again, they proposed, at the earlier meeting, to commit the practical government of the College to a Council, elected once a year by the Governing Body. This vote was not rescinded at the later meeting, but an alteration was made by which the powers of the Council, though pretty complete as far as educational affairs were concerned, became much more shadowy as to administrative and financial questions. It may be said at once that it is rather the latter than the former system which has endured in the College, and we believe that it is generally admitted to have worked extremely well. To most of the present generation of residents educational subjects are beyond comparison the most important that a collegiate body can discuss; and in these subjects the Council is practically supreme; while they have also inherited the power of the 'Provost and Officers,' and therefore settle all matters connected with the College establishment, including the Choir and Choir School. On the other

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hand they have never shown any disposition to usurp financial power, or any desire to settle questions of new buildings, or of appointment to livings.

Only a part of the Statutes could be dealt with in three days; and one of the subjects left over for an Easter session was the Provostship.

Austen Leigh had not abated his reforming ardour in this direction, and he contributed another pamphlet to the discussion. He says that there are two different kinds of Head whom the Governing Body might reasonably wish to elect. If it is to be a distinguished man from outside, whose presence is to shed lustre on the College, 'then no doubt the tenure must be for life, and it may fairly be argued that neither the present income nor the existing Lodge is too ample for a personage whose chief function will be to act as the hospitable entertainer of equally eminent men, and the dignified patron of literature and science. In short, if we are to have a literary or scientific lion, we must put him on a pedestal at once handsome and permanent. But this is not at all my ideal.' He declares for a working Provost, above everything else an able and impartial chairman. He might in addition to this be an Arbitrator, or oracle of the Bursars, or 'better still—the spiritual adviser and mainspring of the religious life of the society.' He thinks that these requirements do not necessitate a man of great learning or genius, but that they do necessitate a man in full vigour. He

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therefore determined to support his friend Mr. Oscar Browning in his proposal to make the Provostship a terminable office of less value.

The Governing Body refused by a large majority to entertain this scheme for docking the Provostship of its dignity. Its emoluments they did diminish to the extent already mentioned. They might easily have been tempted to make a more radical alteration, for they had then no experience which would help them to make any forecast as to the sort of function which the Head would fill in an enlarged and active College; for Provost Okes, though he fought gallantly against advancing years, was no longer able to take a very active share in its government. Later on, Austen Leigh's own sixteen years' occupation of the office proved how laborious a post it was when held by a man in the prime of life, able to enter fully into his College and University work, with the duties of hospitality added; and also how valuable a servant the Provost could be, in a large and active society, when clothed with the impartiality of a just nature, and removed from the shifting politics of the College by fixity of tenure.

The Statutes, on the basis of resolutions agreed to by the Governing Body, were drafted by a small Committee of three Fellows, and then finally adopted by the College. It was not likely that the University Commissioners would sanction them as they stood, and accordingly no one was surprised when they gave

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notice under the Act, as they did early in 1879, that the time was come for the election of the three College Commissioners, to join with them in making Statutes for the College. The Vice-Provost, Mr. Hodgson, and Mr. Gaselee were the three chosen, and before the end of the year they were at work with the Parliamentary Commissioners. The whole of the year 1880 was consumed in the consideration of these Statutes, which were inextricably mixed up with those that were being prepared at the same time for the University; and finally, in March 1881, the Commissioners 'made' the Statutes for King's. Technically these were fresh Statutes *ab initio*, but in many particulars the makers were willing to adopt the principles, and even the wording, of the previous draft. As to some points, however, such as University contribution, and the tenure of Fellowships and Scholarships, they had either fixed views of their own, or agreements with the Oxford Commissioners by which they were bound. Thus (1) the University contribution was arranged in an ascending scale, reaching in the end 30,000*l.* (subject to certain deductions) from the Colleges in general, and the percentage of each College, affecting the *relative* amounts to be paid by each, was assessed on an income a good deal larger than that which King's had suggested. Our College was also to maintain four Professorial Fellows, but the Commissioners so far acceded to the general wish of the University as

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to abandon their intention of annexing particular Professorships to particular Colleges. (2) Prize Fellowships were to be definitely limited to an income of 250*l*.[1] and a tenure of six years from the day of election, and there was to be no enforcement of celibacy. The six years' term was to be exclusive of any time during which the Fellow might hold University or College offices; and the holders of such offices could eventually earn a life tenure. (3) Entrance Open Scholarships were limited to a two-year tenure and an annual value of 80*l*., including all allowances. They might be prolonged after two years' tenure or exchanged (during the first, second, or third year of residence) for Undergraduate Scholarships, and in either of such cases might, if the Governing Body thought fit, be of a greater value. In most other respects the Statutes followed the lines laid down in the College draft.

The drama, however, was not played out when the Statutes were gazetted, for the College thought it worth while to appeal to the Committee of the Privy Council against the University contribution. The Commissioners did not seem to them to have taken into consideration the varying circumstances of different Colleges, and the authorities of King's wanted among other things to have some evidence that allowance had been made for the additional expenditure caused

[1] This limitation has long ceased to have any practical interest in King's, for the reason given in a previous note.

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by their large Chapel with its Cathedral establishment. In the end, however, the appeal was unsuccessful, and the College had to acquiesce in what they had got.

So the Statutes of June 29, 1882, came into operation, and the history of the College activity in this direction, except for a few subsequent amendments, was at an end.

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CHAPTER IX

TUTOR

THE early years of Augustus Austen Leigh's administration at King's were also the closing years of his home life at Bray. The severing of these ties meant more to him than it does to many others, for the members of his family had always kept—as indeed they continued to keep, even after the home was broken up—unusually close to each other. It was the tradition of the family, especially on his mother's side, to preserve their home-centres. His parents knew no pleasure equal to that of having as many as possible of their children around them, and they had the means of doing this oftener than many parents have. None of the sons were soldiers or sailors, none had sought their fortunes in India or the Colonies. Augustus's eldest brother was at this time the only one of his generation who was married; the sisters remained at home, and the extreme limits of the settlements made by the brothers extended only from Sussex through London and Eton to Cambridge.

In the summer of 1874 he had been with one of

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his sisters to the Engadine. Thence he returned to Cambridge to work, for in the following spring he was to examine for the first time in the Classical Tripos. But he went home for a few days on August 29, 'and I am glad I did,' he says, 'for it was the last time I ever saw my father alive. He was quite well then, and preached on the Sunday morning as vigorously as ever, and on Monday, August 31, when five of us went to play a cricket match *v.* John Hawtrey's School (*i.e.* the masters and their friends) near Slough, he drove over and enjoyed—as he always did—seeing his sons play. And it so happened that we had a very exciting match. They got us out for ninety-eight, and then got eighty runs themselves before their fourth wicket fell; but we got them all out for ninety-seven. (This was my last cricket match.) Well, I went back to Cambridge next day, and on September 8 I got a letter telling me that my father was ill, and within an hour or two a telegram telling me to come home at once, but I was too late. . . . My father had lived for his children far more than most fathers can do; he had taught us, and played with us, and taken the keenest interest in everything that his sons did. It was a bright calm day in September (the 12th) when his funeral took place, and the old church was nearly full of relations and friends and parishioners. And then we had to face the task of leaving the old home. I stayed as long as I could,

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to be with my mother and the rest, and did not go to Cambridge till October 7.'

Augustus's disposition was such that it was natural to him, on the loss of a relation or friend, to reproach himself for having in some way failed in his duty towards him, and there is an entry of this sort—too sacred for publication—in his diary for September 8, 1874. But certainly none of his relations—older or younger—were ever sensible of such a defect. If his parents had anything whatever to object to in his treatment of them, it would have been that his sense of the paramount claims of his work prevented his coming home quite so often as they would have wished. Indeed, through life one of the strongest of his apparent characteristics was his absorption in the duty immediately before him. Such or such a thing had to be done, and no consideration must interfere with its completion. It is remarkable, in looking back on his career, to see that, in spite of this seeming absorption in the present, he took long views; that he had formed a definite conception of the shape which he wished College development to assume, and never swerved from the course of action necessary to turn his ideas into facts.

He now returned to the full swing of Cambridge work, and threw himself into the discussions on the reform of Statutes, at the same time working hard at the preparation of a Plato paper for the Tripos. This term he had the pleasure of taking a good

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many rides on a horse lent to him by his eldest brother, 'generally with Fred Whitting and sometimes also with Fawcett, the late Postmaster-General, whose blindness did not prevent his enjoying a gallop across the large light fields of Cambridgeshire.' He was anxious just now to be as much as possible with his mother, and spent his Christmas at a house which she had taken in Brighton, returning to a Lent Term made especially busy by the Classical Tripos. In the summer of 1875 a family party was again collected at the pretty village of Bucknell on the borders of Wales, where his brother Arthur —occasionally assisted by Augustus himself—took the clerical duty, living with his mother and her family in the Rectory, near the River Teme, 'a country,' he says, 'of woods and hills, the latter high enough to be bare at the top, and a country too of old houses, one of which—within a mile of us—had stood a siege in the Civil Wars.' The brother whose clerical work helped to provide this home was greatly pleased at the thought that his mother should enjoy some sort of prolongation of the old family life in a country house. One day he and Augustus went over to visit the latter's old Henley Rector, Mr. Warner, who had now the living of Clun. On their way out they were caught in a thunderstorm, and on their return journey discovered 'that two little children had been struck by lightning and killed while we were out. They had been with other school children

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to the top of one of the hills to gather whortleberries —to be sold for making into jam—and they were caught by the storm far from any shelter.'

King's was now beginning to assume its modern shape. The first election to Open Scholarships had been held in 1873, and in the same year the first non-Etonian (Mr. W. P. Brooke) obtained a Fellowship. At the beginning of the October Term 1875 the Tutor tells his brother that four more Freshmen have been admitted, 'which makes our total of Freshmen up to fifteen and of undergraduates to forty. One has to go out of College.' One of these Freshmen, the smallest man in the College, known as 'The Boy,' was the innocent cause of a good deal of trouble. There was a grand opening of the Corn Exchange, at which 'some undergraduates made a little noise, whereupon the Mayor sent for the police, and the police laid hands promiscuously on any undergraduates whom they could catch, and a few days afterwards the magistrates fined nearly all the undergraduates whom the police caught,' including, unfortunately, the King's Freshman, who was quite innocent. The Tutor spent a long day in Court—from 11 to 7.30—listening to the proceedings. An appeal, which proved successful, was made from the magistrates' decision to the Recorder. 'The case was not heard to the end,' he says in writing to the Provost, 'because the first policeman swore that he was struck on the *right* side of the head, and his hat

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knocked off, and the second policeman swore that he arrested W—— for striking his comrade on the *left* side. The Recorder thought this discrepancy fatal, and stopped the case.'

The unfortunate young man was destined to give more trouble, 'for he fell ill of congestion of the lungs, and his friends sat up with him and nursed him. I took a turn at it part of two nights.' One is glad to be able to add that neither his collision with the guardians of the law, nor his subsequent illness, did any permanent harm to the undergraduate in question.

These acts of personal kindness to his pupils sometimes took the form of substantial pecuniary aid. One of them writes as follows:—

'During my undergraduate days the Tutor happened to know that my circumstances were somewhat straitened, and that I could barely afford to go up to Cambridge for the last Long Vacation before my Tripos. I received a note from him saying how pleased he would be if I would allow him to help me by paying my private tutor's fee. Whatever hesitation I might have felt in accepting his offer was set at rest when I saw him, for I realised that I should give him pain if I declined it, and by his saying that if I felt any reluctance I might repay him at some future date.

'Some seven years later I wrote and expressed my wish to return the fee which he had paid for me.

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He replied that until my letter reminded him of the fact he had quite forgotten it, and that he would take it as a favour if, instead of returning it, I would pass it on to someone who needed help of a similar kind.'

As the number of students increased, the standard of admission naturally became more stereotyped. It had always been in the minds of the reformers that King's should be an 'Honour' College, but the earliest arrangements for examinations were necessarily tentative. Thus, at the first Entrance Examination, held in June 1866, the papers were to be in Elementary Classics and Mathematics; but opportunity was to be given to the candidates to show greater proficiency in one or the other. The examination for 1867 was to embrace Classics, including Prose and Verse Composition, and Mathematics as far as Conic Sections.

A vote of June 3, 1873, definitely states that none but 'Honours' candidates are admitted; those who cease to be such, without the permission of the Educational Council, are to leave the College. On the positive side it was agreed, June 1879 (but only by ten to eight), that candidates of good character who prove that they ought to gain Honours are *entitled* to be admitted.

In attempting to give anything like a consecutive account of Austen Leigh's work at King's, it is necessary to draw a broad distinction between two

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periods. These two periods, which were of very unequal length, are, in their general character, sharply contrasted with each other, though one shades off into the other, and it is impossible to find a dividing line. During his first few years he was practically working single-handed. There was no other resident academical teacher of any standing among the Fellows. His support came from outside, and was necessarily fitful and irregular, though intelligent and patriotic. In the course of these years he had to give a lead to the expanding College in such subjects as the standard of admission, the relations between dons and undergraduates, the relations of undergraduates to each other, the attendance on Chapel services, and the provision of new and better paid Lecturers. On these and other matters his influence, quiet and modest as it was, was great and lasting, and it may fairly be said that, if he had not been what he was, King's might now be as good an institution as it is, but it would not be the same. But any success in compassing the last of these objects would naturally bring about a change in his own position. He would no longer be solitary, and as soon as a body of able dons was collected his duties would be quite different. The five years following upon 1873 saw this change at work. First Mr. Nixon and then Mr. Browning returned to work at the College. A little later Messrs. Huddleston, Prothero, and Grant decided to throw in their lot

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with it, either for educational or administrative work, and there were soon other names to add to these.

The Tutor did not abdicate his functions, but he by degrees came to be more of a combining and co-ordinating, and less of an originating, force—a function equally useful among an active body of many views and aspirations, but marking a great change from his previous position. It fitted in with this alteration in his *rôle* that he soon became, owing to the great age of the Provost, the acting head of the College, and was continually taking a greater share in the administration of the University.

During these first years the intellectual strain must have been considerable. The purely linguistic and literary character of the Classical Tripos had been modified by the admission of papers on ancient philosophy, and Tutors who had been brought up in the older school had to teach, and to examine in, subjects they had never been compelled or even encouraged to learn.

In the course of two years Austen Leigh had to lecture on Cicero's Academica, and also to set part of a Plato paper for the Tripos. He was, of course, at the same time advising the men as to their reading, and often doing papers with them.

One of the ablest of his pupils of this date, writing after his death, says, 'My own personal debt of gratitude to him for the judicious way in which, as

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Tutor, he guided and enlarged my classical reading as an undergraduate is great; it is a satisfaction to me that I was able to tell him so—after all these years—only a few weeks ago.'

We may set side by side the impressions of this period furnished respectively by a Lecturer and by two pupils. Mr. Heitland, Fellow and formerly Tutor of St. John's, says, 'After the death of Mr. Shilleto someone was wanted to take part of the classical work in King's, then already a rapidly growing College. A Kingsman was soon expected to take over the work, and the gap had to be stopped till he was ready. My delight was great when Austen Leigh asked me to take the temporary duty, which I did in 1876–7 for nearly two years. The duty was a most pleasant one. It was inspiriting to have under one the very pick of the classical men then in residence. But what left on me the strongest impression was the privilege of serving under one who was always kind, always firm, always prompt, and always just. It was the Tutor who superintended the whole classical teaching of the College, and he was too wise and too much in earnest to guide his team with a loose rein. I would not have missed such an experience for anything, and I have ever looked back on it with pleasure. I treasure a letter that he wrote me when that time came to an end. It is something to have been in touch with a man whose grit and large-mindedness were best seen near

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at hand. Unaffected nobility will perhaps never be too common.'

Mr. E. W. Howson, formerly Scholar and Fellow of King's, and for many years a Master at Harrow, whose valuable life was cut short by illness soon after he had kindly dictated his recollections, begins them by saying that, shortly before he came up to Cambridge, he met in a country house a lady 'who enjoyed an unusually large circle of acquaintance.'

On hearing what his College was to be, she said, 'Oh, then, you will come to know Augustus Leigh. I always consider him one of the most perfect gentlemen I know.' Mr. Howson, after saying how the truth of this remark was proved by the way in which the Tutor brought together the Etonian and non-Etonian elements in the College, proceeds: 'I still possess the notes which I took at his truly admirable lectures on Lucretius, which was one of our Tripos subjects. All who heard them appreciated them most keenly, and it was generally agreed that there were only two other courses of lectures that could compare with them—Mr. Butcher's on Homer and Dr. Jackson's on Plato. They were excellently delivered, and always distinguished by lucidity of style and accurate scholarship. Undergraduates are not always tender critics of their superiors, and they are often ready to cavil at authority. But I can confidently say that I never heard an unkind word

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about him. There was in his bearing a certain grave yet modest dignity, which inspired, without seeming to insist upon, our respect, while his ready sympathy and unfeigned kindness won for him our genuine affection. If I were to try to sum up briefly the effect produced by his character upon the men of my time I could perhaps best express it by these three words: Modesty, Refinement, and Unselfishness.'

The recollections of Mr. A. H. Cooke, formerly Tutor and Dean of King's, and now Headmaster of Aldenham School, extend over a much longer series of years, but may be inserted here. He says, 'My College relations with the late Provost extend over the years 1874–1900. When I came up from Eton in 1874, he was Tutor, and Clement Bryans and myself spent our first evening in College in his rooms, where he had thoughtfully ordered dinner for us. He had the extraordinary gift of setting everyone, however shy, at their ease at once, and of drawing out all that was best in them. While I was an undergraduate he only delivered one course of public lectures, on the first three books of Lucretius, which were a "set subject" for the Classical Tripos of 1878. Although the philosophy of Lucretius was probably not a very congenial subject to him, he had got up his author with remarkable thoroughness, and was well versed in the modern applications of the atomic theory. He used to take us in translation papers,

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and in Latin and Greek prose, but seldom, I think, in verse composition. He always wrote his translations himself, and gave us his own versions of the composition; the Latin prose always struck me as admirable.

'Intercollegiate football matches were just beginning at that time, and he always managed to appear on the ground where King's—who could just scrape an eleven together—had a match. He used to give large Sunday breakfast parties, and always knew the latest undergraduate news, whether from the field or the river. Our feelings towards him were those of absolute trust and respect, and there was nothing we would not have done for him.

'In after days it was my privilege to be associated with him in many matters of educational and College interest. His attitude towards a young Lecturer was inspiring. He always seemed to assume that a man would do well, and that the views of others were worth listening to. A more encouraging colleague could not exist, for he never stood aloof from you, and was always ready to discuss matters.

'He took a regular part in all College classical examinations, and was especially keen on examining the candidates for Entrance Scholarships. Here his accurate knowledge and finely tempered judgment made him an excellent critic. At the same time, he was always ready to submit to the views of a colleague whom he could trust, and "I daresay you are right"

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was a familiar phrase from his lips. He examined his papers rapidly but thoroughly, and was always the first to appear at the Examiners' final meeting. It was characteristic of him that he often used to find points of promise in candidates whom other Examiners had given up as hopeless. He was the most unselfish of Examiners, letting others choose their papers before him, and I have often known him take an unpopular paper, because he knew no one else cared to set it. I remember his once printing a piece of Greek in a test paper, the authorship of which none of us could recognise, and it turned out that he had composed it himself!

'No one knew better how *componere lites* at a meeting. When disputes were waxing warm, and awkward personalities were flying about, a well-timed piece of raillery from him would calm the air, and recall us to the business in hand. He was always ready to share a laugh with you on the little peculiarities of others, but there was that about his laugh which never seemed to leave any ill-will behind it. No one ever heard of his doing or saying an ill-natured thing.

'But behind his outward lightness of manner lay a strength of purpose which perhaps few suspected who did not know him well, but which those who happened to collide with it never forgot. He was perhaps a little deliberate in making up his mind, but when once he had made it up nothing could

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bend him. It did not occur to him to consider whether a measure was likely to be unpopular, if he was once persuaded that it was right. Hence he always supported the side of authority, and when you once got him to agree with you, you felt that your point was secure. As Provost he seldom interfered with the discipline of the College, but those who had to administer discipline felt the strong support of his authority behind them.'

The year 1876 saw great activity in various departments of College life. Great changes were inaugurated in the Chapel Choir, first of all by the election of the present organist, Dr. A. H. Mann, which took place at the end of May; and then by setting on foot a boarding school for the Choir boys, which began in the autumn. To do this was only to carry out a plain direction contained in the Statutes of 1861; but the Statutes had lasted a good while before any step was taken in this direction. Now a beginning was made by electing three boys whose parents lived at a distance, and hiring a house in the town in which they were placed under the charge of one of the Chaplains; but this was only a temporary expedient, and before the end of the year the Governing Body had decided to build a Choir School in the paddocks behind the College garden. The boys would naturally be drawn from a higher class than before, and the education was to be a suitable preparation for a public school. This is, of course,

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by no means the most important part of the College establishment; but within its own sphere it has been a complete success. Not only for the musical improvement of the Chapel services, but also for the education of the boys—a good many of whom have obtained School Scholarships on leaving—and indeed, we may add, for the education of many sons of Cambridge residents who have attended as day boys, the King's College Choir School has a high reputation, and has earned a great deal of gratitude.

Austen Leigh always felt the liveliest interest in the well-being of the members of the Choir, and took a leading part in completing the present body by the institution of Choral Scholars. A full account of what he did for them, if it could be made, would no doubt disclose many unpretending acts of counsel and help, which few men were more ready to perform, and few so successful in concealing.

Another movement, of a different character, in which also he took a great interest, was brought to a successful issue about the same time. The authorities of King's and Clare were ready to let to their undergraduates between seven and eight acres of meadow land behind the two College gardens, belonging partly to the one College and partly to the other, to be used jointly as a cricket ground. This offer involved the surrender by the Provost of a piece of ground used by him as an additional kitchen garden, a surrender which was very readily made, for the

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benefit of the 'young men.' The Colleges proposed to stub up the fences and lay out the ground, exacting a moderate rent from the occupants, and leaving them to maintain it. The undergraduates of King's held a meeting to decide whether they could face their share of the responsibility. They were still a small body, and it was not yet certain what the future of the College might be; while the rent and other expenses would be a considerable strain on their modest resources. A good deal of oratory was expended on this topic, and much questioning whether the joint club could afford a 'permanent man' to look after the ground, while one of the speakers, enlarging on the merits of the scheme, said that the field would be not merely a cricket ground, but a general recreation ground for young—here he looked round at a Bursar who had unwarily strayed into the assembly—*and old*. When the time for voting came, one studious young man—a future Tutor of the College—who had been unable to spare time for listening to the speeches, rushed in to support the plan, which was triumphantly carried—a result which probably no human being has ever regretted. The ground is ample in size, well placed, with a good subsoil, and with pleasant surroundings; and it is difficult to find a period in any of the three Terms when there is no game—cricket, football, hockey, or lawn tennis—to be seen on it.

More important than the last question, but also

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much more difficult to settle, was that of New Buildings. It had already become evident that 'Scott's Building' went but a very small way towards the solution of this problem. Somewhat larger accommodation was wanted at once, and it was likely that a great addition might be required in a few years. The College was growing in numbers, and all the men belonged to that studious class of undergraduates, to whom residence within the walls of a College is specially important. A small measure of relief for the congestion was afforded by turning into students' rooms some tenements on the south side of King's Lane, reserving the front part of these tenements abutting on the Parade to form a house for a married Tutor; but these rooms were few in number and unattractive. It was agreed, at Whitsuntide 1876, to take into consideration the only two alternatives which then seemed feasible: (1) to build in front of the College on the site of the screen, or (2) to buy the 'Bull' Hotel from St. Catharine's, and either to use it as it stood for undergraduates' rooms, or to rebuild it. These two objects were pursued nearly simultaneously, but by different sections of the Governing Body. There never was a sufficient majority to carry through the first, and the second was defeated by a combined opposition on the part of some of the Fellows and on the part of the Copyhold Commissioners; the Tutor being all the time ready to support any reasonable scheme which made for the

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development of the College. The earlier steps towards the proposed building on the Screen Site were taken somewhat eagerly; it was agreed to ask three of the most distinguished architects of the day, Sir G. G. Scott, Mr. Street, and Mr. Burges, to send in competitive designs. It was a grand site, in full view of the world, with plenty of air and light, but somewhat difficult to treat. Everybody who knows the architectural history of Cambridge is aware that the building designed by the Founder to occupy this place was to abut on the Chapel; that the most easterly window on the south side of the Chapel was finished only as far down as the transom; that the adjoining building was to come to that height on the Chapel wall, and that the finishing off of window and wall by Wilkins betrays its origin by the different colour of the stone. Would it be best now to revert to the original design, or to leave the Chapel standing alone in solitary grandeur? The architects were left to act as they liked, or to send in alternative designs. Scott adopted this last expedient; one of his drawings left the Chapel alone, the other provided for an abutment. Street and Burges took much the same line as Scott in his second plan. With regard to other features, Scott, in his most elaborate plan, produced a great central gateway, modelled on that at Layer Marney in Essex, and Burges reproduced the unfinished gateway on the old site of the College, the original of which was afterwards completed by

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Pearson and incorporated in the University Library. The Governing Body went so far as to appoint a surveyor (Mr. Henry Currey, designer of St. Thomas's Hospital) to value and report on the designs; but by the time his report was in their hands, the majority, such as it was, in favour of building at all had faded away. He had reported that the plan of Burges, which on other grounds found the greatest favour, was slightly the least expensive, but it could hardly be completed for much, if anything, short of 40,000*l.*; and the burden on the corporate finances was likely to be such that the united forces of economists and æsthetic objectors sufficed to overturn the scheme.

Men next turned to the other alternative, that of the purchase of the 'Bull' Hotel. After negotiations it appeared that St. Catharine's were ready to accept a price which the majority of the Fellows of King's were ready to give. But the position was a peculiar one. King's was a large College, with many (apparently) possible sites for extension, while, on the other hand, had St. Catharine's wanted to build, they could hardly do it elsewhere than on the spot occupied by the 'Bull.' There was also a considerable minority at King's opposed to the purchase at the price named, and this minority represented their views to the Copyhold Commissioners, whose consent was necessary both to the sale by St. Catharine's and the purchase by King's; the Commissioners being, under the University and

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College Estates Acts, the custodians of the property of either College. That consent was eventually withheld on double grounds. As representing King's, which had many other sites, they declined to authorise them to buy at so large a price, while on the other hand they were unwilling to allow St. Catharine's to part with their solitary site for a sum that was no larger.

This was not the latest negotiation between the two Colleges, for, at the end of the year 1879, overtures were made by King's to St. Catharine's to take advantage of the powers given to the University Commissioners under the Act of 1877 for effecting a complete union between the two Colleges. There was a sentimental reason for the proposed union, in addition to the practical advantage that would have been gained by the junction of two adjacent Colleges with a splendid frontage to the main street, for St. Catharine's had been founded by Wodelarke, one of the earliest Provosts of King's. The necessary two-thirds majority in favour of the scheme was easily obtained in King's, the motion being supported both by reformers and by one or two who seldom voted in favour of changes; but when it came to the point, the smaller institution naturally shrank from a step which would have virtually meant to them a loss of name and identity, whatever formal steps might be taken to avoid such a result.

The attempt to unite the two Colleges, and the important part which the 'Bull' Hotel played in the

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negotiations, were celebrated at the time in two Latin couplets. Bishop Wordsworth wrote:

> Quæ pia Regales spernis Catharina hymenæos,
> Splendidior castâ virginitate nites.

And Augustus Vansittart, Fellow of Trinity, in a different vein:

> Improba Regales spernit Catharina hymenæos,
> Amplexu Taurum quæ retinere cupit.

This last effort belonged to a somewhat later period, but most of the movements that have been mentioned had their beginning in the year 1876—a very active year, for, in addition to these and other matters, the Tutor and his friends devoted much thought to the question of amending the Statutes.

On Monday, November 7, he was elected for the first time to sit on the Council of the Senate, the inner cabinet which initiates legislation for the University. This was an event of some importance, not only for himself, as making a material change in his work, and widening his outlook on Cambridge affairs, but also for the College.[1] The Council of the Senate was a creation of the new system, and no Kingsman had yet been elected to it. The older generation of Fellows had, as a rule, preferred to remain outside the full current of University life and thought, and it was not therefore to be expected that they should enjoy much of the confidence of those who

[1] A general account of Austen Leigh's work for the University will be found below in Chapter XIII.

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administered its affairs. Henry Bradshaw was the one strong link connecting the two sets, and he had not been, so far, nominated for this office. Austen Leigh was at this time comparatively young and comparatively unknown, and some of the older hands were inclined to laugh at the idea of his having any chance. He was returned, however, without difficulty. He was put forward by the Liberals, who generally commanded a majority among the residents; but, being himself little identified with any party, he probably polled a good many neutral or Conservative votes. Anyhow, he got in easily, and from that date King's has never (except for one brief period between 1880 and 1882) been without at least one representative on the Body.

From these engrossing cares and occupations the Tutor was suddenly summoned with his younger brother, who had now become second Bursar and resided during the October Term, to the death-bed of their mother.

After the family meeting on the borders of Wales in the autumn of 1875, she had settled down in London. There Augustus had spent some time with her during the Christmas Vacation, and from her house he had gone down to Bray on April 26, 1876, to help to marry his brother Arthur to Miss M. V. Hall Say. His mother lived to enjoy one more meeting of children and grandchildren at a house which she had taken in the summer of 1876 on the

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hills between Reading and Pangbourne. Augustus was twice there, joining in the interval some friends for a short tour in Switzerland. Mrs. Austen Leigh seemed at that time to be in her usual health; but a chill caught while paying a visit after she had returned to London brought on bronchitis and congestion or inflammation of one lung, and she had not strength to stand up against it. The end was as rapid as it had been in her husband's case two years earlier, and the sons who were summoned did not arrive in time to speak to her.

Her character, which has been already described, was one of singular beauty; she was in the highest degree affectionate and unselfish, deeply religious, charitable in all her judgments, shrinking from anything like injustice or exaggeration, too modest to rely on her own excellent common sense, and almost too scrupulous to enjoy that peace of mind which her virtues deserved. She came of a family which had exhibited many of these qualities, and those who knew her son Augustus well can testify that many of them were reproduced in him. He himself, writing some years later, says of her, 'I can't tell you what a good woman my mother was; how unselfish, and how scrupulously charitable, not merely in her gifts, but also in her judgment of other people. I think she was almost over-conscientious, at least for her own happiness; but if ever any mother deserved to be loved by her children,

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she did. She was buried at Bray, by my father's side, on November 16, as lovely a day as the one in September two years before, when we followed my father's body to the same resting-place.'

He spent some time in London with his sisters and brother that winter; and when they moved into another house, he liked to think that he had a small part in the establishment which they set up, and could treat their house as a home during the short visits which he was able to make to them.

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CHAPTER X

TUTOR AND VICE-PROVOST

In the autumn of 1877 the moving spirits among the Fellows were anxious to secure the services of a new Vice-Provost. The existing holder of that office was an invalid, while the Provost was almost an octogenarian; and important and lengthy discussions on the Statutes were impending. Austen Leigh was the obvious choice of the juniors, so long as Henry Bradshaw refused to stand. He wrote to Mr. Hodgson: 'C—— has just been trying to persuade me to be nominated for the office. But I could not be V.P. without neglecting some of my Tutor's work.' He adds that he considers himself particularly unfitted on the score of health for the amount of entertaining which would fall to the lot of a Vice-Provost, and ends by expressing his willingness to vote for almost anyone else.

Later on, the following entries appear in his diary:—

'*November* 19.—I have at last decided and told —— that I would consent to be V.P. *if Bradshaw will not.*

'*November* 20.—Educational Council and a talk

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with the Provost about the V.P.ship took up the whole morning.

'*November* 27.—I was made V.P., having with great difficulty made up my mind not to refuse.

'*November* 28.—All the M.A.s dined for the first time to-day at the table on the daïs (settled so at yesterday's meeting).'

This last entry records the end of an old and singular practice, by which only the thirteen Senior Fellows dined at the High Table, the other Masters of Arts having a table to themselves placed at a right angle to the High Table, and below the daïs. When the actuaries gave their award in 1870, Bendyshe had succeeded in inducing them to insert a proviso reserving to the Seniors their vested right to dine apart from the others. This paltry addition had tended to throw ridicule on the whole award, for its result was to perpetuate an absurd custom by which an average attendance of two or three Senior Fellows required the provision of a separate meal. Mr. Arthur D. Coleridge tells us that he remembers a time when the habitual occupants of the daïs were two old brothers. What their relations to each other outside Hall may have been, he does not know; but as he looked up with astonishment from the Scholars' Table, he saw one old brother bow to the other solemnly at the beginning of dinner, and they did the same again before leaving the table. This anomaly now came to a natural and happy end. 'I think the amalgamated

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tables do pretty well,' the new Vice-Provost says to Mr. Hodgson; 'L——, possibly by way of protest, always comes in too late to sit anywhere near me.'

Seven years before he had tried to induce Henry Bradshaw to accept the Vice-Provostship, and had received the following answer:—

'DEAR AUGUSTUS,—I cannot thank you enough for the kind and generous way in which you speak of me in both your letters, and I wish I could help you in a matter which is so near your heart. But there are considerations which have led me to make up my mind not to be Vice-Provost under any circumstances whatever, and these are absolute.

'It is not from any selfish motive that I say this. The loss of time would be of no consequence, because any reasonable Vice-Provost, by giving some thought to the affairs of the College, would effect an enormous saving of time both for himself and for the College in general.

'The social duties, so far from being irksome, would be of the pleasantest kind, if only the members of the Governing Body dined together, and the "Combination" were much more frequent and less prolonged, all which reforms a reasonable Vice-Provost would be able to effect in an instant.'

The evil, therefore, of this trivial regulation had been long felt.

One of the reasons given above by Austen Leigh

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for his unwillingness to serve was his imperfect health, and, in reading his diaries for the earlier years of his Cambridge residence, one is struck by the number of allusions to ill-health coming from a man little given to complaining. It seldom prevented him from doing his work, and seemed often compatible with a good deal of exercise; he played frequently at tennis, always, by the way, noting in his diary the result of his games. These allusions to ill-health gradually become rarer, and he seems to have practically outgrown this form of delicacy, and perhaps the duties of the Vice-Provostship were really good for him. One of the bedmakers said contemptuously of a brother Fellow of very abstemious habits, that 'when 'e might go and 'ave a good dinner in 'all, 'e 'as a hegg in 'is rooms,' and the Tutor had probably in like manner been apt to be too sparing and too rapid in his meals. It is possible—and we make the surmise boldly, even in the twentieth century—that the necessity of a substantial and leisurely dinner, followed by a glass of wine, really did for him what was wanted. Another advantage that accrued to his health at about the same time was that he now added to tennis the more out-of-door and health-giving game of golf. He had been to St. Andrews in the summer of 1877, and went two or three times afterwards to Westward Ho! and he kept up the game for a good many years. His riding was only occasional, and he had come nearly to the

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end of his hunting. He did, however, enjoy some days' sport in January 1878 from the house of his brothers, Charles and Spencer, in Sussex, and had two experiences more easily to be obtained in South-down hunting than elsewhere; for one day he lost himself completely in a fog among the hills, on his way home; another day they ran a fox under the cliffs, and killed him in the sea.

'On January 22, 1878' (he says in his 'Recollections'), 'there was a great ceremony here—unveiling the Prince Consort's statue (by Foley) in the Entrance Hall of the Fitzwilliam Museum. The Chancellor (Duke of Devonshire)—his train carried by Edward Lyttelton [1]—presented an address to the Prince of Wales, who read an answer. Then followed speeches by Lord Powis, the Bishop of Worcester, and Dr. Paget; and then a crowd of M.A.s—of whom I was one—were presented to the Prince, and made a bow and a scrape to him, and got away as quick as we could.'

In March 1878 an advance was made in the teaching organisation of the College by the creation of a second Tutorship. The Senior Tutor proposed to divide equally with his Junior, both the 150*l.* stipend allotted to him, and the one-third share (amounting in 1878 to about 200*l.*) of the tuition fees. An amendment, however, was carried, dividing

[1] The Chancellor was of course the late Duke of Devonshire; his train-bearer was the present Headmaster of Eton.

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the stipend into shares of 100*l.* and 50*l.* respectively. The Senior Tutor fully appreciated his own good fortune and that of the College in obtaining such a second Tutor as Mr. (now Dr.) G. W. Prothero, whose subsequent services were invaluable, and whose personal intercourse with himself was unclouded by any disagreement. But it is fortunately possible to read an account of their relations to each other—whether earlier, as Tutor and pupil, or, at the period which we have now reached, as colleagues—in the words of Dr. Prothero himself; for he has addressed the following letter to the Editor:—

24 Bedford Square,
November 25, 1905.

'My dear Austen Leigh,—You have honoured me by a request that I should put together what I can recollect of your brother's work as Tutor at K.C. I wish I could discharge this duty more satisfactorily; but my recollections, after this lapse of time, are somewhat vague as to details, and my collection of College papers, which might have helped me out in regard to particulars, was deposited more than ten years ago in the College Library. My general impression, however, is strong and clear.

'My recollections of the late Provost go back to the autumn of 1868, when I entered the College as a Freshman. As Tutor, your brother was kindness itself to the small flock of undergraduates committed to his charge. He took an unaffected and sympathetic

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interest in our studies and our sports, treating us rather as young friends than as persons *in statu pupillari*, with an entire absence of donnish stiffness or punctilio. He was always ready and willing to see us, and to be consulted about any matter, private or public, that we might wish to lay before him. I remember his pleasant breakfast parties in Fellows' Building, and the genial welcome one always received on such occasions. I remember, too, the voluntary lectures which he gave, to the three or four classical men in the third year, in a bay of the College Library, on the Republic of Plato, a set subject in the Classical Tripos of 1872. The trouble which he had taken to prepare these lectures, and to help us to understand what was then somewhat of a new subject at Cambridge, was obvious to the class, and was highly appreciated. And I have reason to remember his personal kindness to myself, when, as senior scholar, I laid before the College authorities, through the Tutor, the wishes of the younger members of the College regarding compulsory attendance at Chapel. The request which we made would probably have been scorned and rejected, without consideration, by a "don" of the old type; and its promoters might easily have been regarded as impudent and insubordinate. Austen Leigh listened without impatience to our arguments; he received the petition; and, whatever may have been his own feelings on the subject, he obtained, in spite of strong and (it must

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be admitted) quite natural resistance in certain quarters, the grant of the relaxation we desired, so far at least as weekday services were concerned. I do not think that the College has ever had occasion to regret the step which, alone of the Colleges at Cambridge, it then took in the direction of religious liberty. As a disciplinarian, Austen Leigh was no martinet; he relied on kindly persuasion rather than on stringent rules; and I am convinced that the friendly and even intimate relations, which have always, in my recollection, existed at King's between dons and undergraduates, owe their inception and continuance mainly to the excellent traditions which he established.

'It was to Austen Leigh that I owe my opportunity of undertaking University work, and my first recognition as an academical teacher. He facilitated my first efforts in that direction; and when I had, to some extent, found my footing, he obtained from the College my appointment as a Lecturer in 1876—there was then, I think, only one other History Lecturer at Cambridge, and the prospects of the Historical Tripos were quite vague—and my subsequent selection as Second Tutor. I am the more indebted to him on this account, because these appointments, at all events the first, were not made without some opposition. The kindness with which Austen Leigh had treated me as a pupil was, I need hardly say, extended to me as a colleague;

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and never, during my tenure of office as his subordinate or assistant, or afterwards, when I took his place as Tutor, did I lack the benefit of his kindly encouragement and wise and helpful counsel. We always consulted together, while he held the Tutorship, as to the policy to be pursued, both in individual cases and in general questions; and I do not recollect any serious division of opinion between us. No one could have been a more considerate, loyal, and generous superior or colleague. When he had given up the Tutorship, he was equally ready to give time and trouble to the consideration of any matter about which I asked the help of his wisdom and experience; and such matters were many.

'To recount the details of his Tutorial work during the period of our co-operation, even if I could recollect them accurately, would hardly be in place here; but I remember well the mingled firmness and consideration which he displayed in one painful case with which we had to deal. Nor can I forget his kindly and even affectionate sympathy when I informed him that I was about to be married, and asked him if he thought that such a step would be incompatible with my retention of the Tutorship. He had welcomed and promoted the changes in the Statutes which permitted Fellows to marry. All he regarded as necessary in my case was that the Tutor should live as near as possible to College; and he helped me to obtain the house in King's Lane where

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I spent so many happy years. In the steady growth and development of the College which took place in the seventies and eighties, he played a principal part; and, in the various changes of those years, which were often the subject of much discussion and no little difference of opinion, his serenity of temper, his absolute devotion to the interests of the College, his wise blending of liberal views and cautious procedure, made it easy and pleasant to work with and under him, and did more than any other influence to keep the body corporate in harmony.

'Yours ever,

'G. W. Prothero.'

When Augustus Austen Leigh was Dean, in the years 1871 to 1873, and sermons were revived in the Chapel, it naturally fell to his lot to preach occasionally, and this he had continued, at somewhat rare intervals, to do; but his was a case—surely rather unusual—of a man who was unwilling to do what he did well. His sermons were marked by a very complete sympathy with, and understanding of, the Church of the first century, especially perhaps with the doctrines and character of St. Paul. His illustrative quotations from the Bible were apt, and sometimes rather uncommon; his voice, though not strong, was attractive, and had a note of pathos. The standard which he set before his hearers was high; and there was nothing either of mannerism or

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false taste to diminish the effect of his earnest appeals to the undergraduates to cultivate their spiritual, as well as their intellectual, faculties. But the composition of sermons took up a good deal of time and thought, and he seldom satisfied himself with what he had written. He could not be got to believe—what his friends tried to impress upon him—that he had really singular gifts for preaching. One of these friends (Mr. Nixon) wrote him a letter early in 1877, in which he told him that he had come across an instance in which the shaft, aimed perhaps at random in a sermon of his, had come home, and he employed the opportunity to urge him to use his talent more frequently. 'I feel very strongly,' he said, 'that the physical qualities of voice and delivery, the taste, earnestness, sympathy, and other things that come out so strongly in every sermon of yours that I have heard ought not to be left unemployed.' More frequent sermons of his would, he added, 'be hailed with the greatest delight by everyone—there is but one opinion on this, in King's. They would, I am sure, do incalculable good.' He ends with a hope that 'as soon as your sermons are enough to make a small volume, you will let us have them printed for you.'

Another friend—the present Headmaster of Uppingham, then an undergraduate—says, 'No one knew what his theological colour was; he wore no label but that of truth and reverence, and whatever

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is fine and pure in the spiritual life. I, for one, felt the stimulus of his preaching as something uncommon, and regretted the reserve which confined it to Chapel. More than once I asked him to publish his sermons.'

The praises of his friends, however, seem to have left him quite unconvinced. Somewhat later, on January 17, 1880, he writes to Provost Okes what is evidently an answer to a request that he should preach the annual sermon before the University in King's Chapel on March 25.

'My dear Sir,—Your letter contains the third invitation to preach which I have received during the last two days. I am afraid I must plead the same excuse that I have to the other invitations—viz., want of time. It takes me a long time to write a sermon; and I don't see any prospect of spare time next Term; but I ought to add, as I fear I have more than once declined to preach on March 25, that I also feel that I have nothing whatever to say to the University worth their hearing. Of all sermons it is the one which I am most unwilling to undertake.'

In the same spirit he writes in his diary, May 6, 1881: 'Up early and tried to get on with sermon which has taken me more time and given less satisfaction than any before.' September 24: 'A letter from W. A. Carter, asking me to preach in Eton College Chapel, which I declined.'

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It is probable that one reason why he was most unwilling to preach any but strictly 'domestic' sermons lay in the fact that he was not in full Orders. This fact no doubt also contributed to his unwillingness to accept an offer made to him in March 1879 to become Examining Chaplain to Archbishop Tait. He does not, however, allude to this in writing (years afterwards) to the only friend to whom he ever mentioned the fact that the offer had been made. He merely says, 'I suppose Lightfoot had suggested me to the Archbishop, but I did not think I was fit for the work, even if I could have spared the time, and so I declined it.'

Lightfoot was no doubt the religious leader to whom he was most indebted. When he first returned to Cambridge in 1867 he seems to have felt that he required further study and reflection before taking Priest's Orders, and he was soon drawn so fully into the vortex of College politics and work as to be unable to give to theological reading the time which he thought it needed. He did, however, read a good deal of theology, principally the historical and critical theology of which Lightfoot was the greatest exponent, and his general views—which he held to the end of his life—were in accordance with this school. His deep and abiding admiration of Lightfoot is shown by an entry in his diary, December 22, 1889: 'Sad news of the death of the Bishop of Durham—greatest and best of Cambridge men.'

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Austen Leigh was a firm Churchman, and a man of deep personal piety, earnestly wishing to foster religion in his College. But though he certainly did once or twice (notably when he became Provost) think of taking Priest's Orders, his habitual view was that he was engaged principally in secular work, and surrounded by laymen of all shades of opinion; and that he would be more likely to retain his influence if he did not accentuate his ecclesiastical position. It was also in accordance with his character that he should commend his faith chiefly by silent example.

We return to his 'Recollections.'

'On October 26, 1878, Cambridge was honoured by a visit from Mr. Gladstone. I went to meet him at luncheon on Sunday the 27th; after which I had to escort him to the University Sermon. I think he talked chiefly about his reminiscences of Oxford.

'April 22, 1879, was a great day with us. The west window (given by a former Fellow, Stacey) had at last been finished by Clayton and Bell, after ten years' work; and the statue and fountain—designed by Armstead—on our front lawn—had also just been completed. So we had a great gathering of old members of the College. There was a service in Chapel at which we did the whole of Spohr's "Last Judgment"—with organ accompaniment only; then a long dinner in Hall, at which about a hundred and twenty (including some eighteen undergraduate

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Scholars) were present, and which lasted from 7.15 P.M. till nearly midnight; speeches by the Provost, Stacey, Clayton, O. Browning, Beresford Hope, Bp. Abraham, F. Whitting, and myself, varied by glees very well sung from the west gallery. Next morning we had a public breakfast in Hall; and then our guests began to go away.'

Stacey, in his speech, quoted the passage in the 'Holy Grail' where Tennyson—no doubt basing his description on a recollection of King's Chapel—describes a great Hall with a window at one end and twelve on each side 'blazoned,' and one at the other end plain; and then the question is asked, 'Who shall blazon it?' Stacey declared that when he was an undergraduate and looked at the bare west window he determined—he must have anticipated in thought the poet, who did not write his Idyll till many years later—that, if ever he had the means, *he* would blazon it!

The Statue and Fountain were the result of a gift from an earlier benefactor, which had been allowed to accumulate until it reached an adequate sum. After some hesitation it was decided to unite Statue and Fountain in one monument, and to place its execution in the hands of a sculptor, rather than an architect. Armstead, whose recent death has been the cause of such general regret, was the sculptor selected. A free hand was given to him, and he was a genuine artist, who desired to carry out the ideas

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of his own brain. The statue of the Founder was flanked by two symbolical figures at a lower level, representing Religion and Philosophy—the two great objects of the Foundation. All were of bronze; and the artist endeavoured, by using more copper than usual, to induce the statues to weather into a greener colour than is often seen in England, but unfortunately without effect.

A certain amount of criticism was directed against the attitude of the Founder, who is presenting the charter, but in rather a half-hearted or supercilious manner. It happened that the statue was first displayed at the time of the publication of the result of the Classical Tripos, in which King's had not succeeded nearly so well as usual. It was suggested that what the Founder was really doing was to throw away the Tripos list in disgust.

Altogether we think it must be said that the window—possibly owing to the presence of the donor—received at first a good deal more of attention and admiration than the Fountain; although Provost Okes, with his usual ready wit, suggested as a quotation to be used by anyone who wished to express a preference for the latter the Horatian line—

O fons (Bandusiæ) *splendidior vitro.*

The years 1878 and 1879 will have other less pleasant associations for those connected with the landed interest in England, as they marked the

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commencement of 'agricultural depression;' and only a year or two passed before the Fellows of King's began to feel its result in a shrinkage of dividends. It was just at this time that the Vice-Provost had to take up the otherwise pleasant work of visiting the College estates in the company of the Bursar. Provost Okes clung to the performance of this duty as long as it was possible, and it seems that he did not give up all hopes of doing so even in the year 1880; for the usual vote was passed at the Whitsuntide meeting 'That Mr. Whitting accompany the Provost on the Western Circuit.' But when the time came it was too much for him to undertake, and Austen Leigh took up this work, which he was to continue for the rest of his life. The present Vice-Provost (Mr. Whitting) has written the following memorandum on their joint visits to the tenants: 'The first occasion on which the late Provost (Austen Leigh) undertook the circuit was in the summer of 1880, while he was still Vice-Provost; and this duty of representing the Provost on circuit he fulfilled on five subsequent occasions. After he became Provost we find him engaged on the Western Circuit in six different years. In 1892 he made a formal visitation of the estates comprised in the Norfolk and Suffolk Circuit.

'It is needless to say that he took a lively interest in all that came under his notice in these visitations of the more distant parts of the College property,

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and there is abundant evidence of the friendly sense of trust and personal confidence, as well as respect, which his kindly and sympathetic nature impressed upon all with whom he came into contact.

'He greatly enjoyed the humorous scenes and quaint local expressions which often enlivened the proceedings at the Manorial Courts. The shrewd wit or evasive silence of the homage (or jury), whose business it was to present any breach of the customs of the Manor, or grievances of their own, to the Lords, was a frequent source of amusement. As a specimen of the personal disputes which the Lords were sometimes called upon to adjust, the following letter is extant, addressed to the College by a copyholder of gaunt appearance, who held some cottage tenements in a small Wiltshire parish by virtue of her widowhood. "Gentlemen," she writes, "For my word sake I have written to inform you that Mr. C—— have let the water into my cottage again on Sunday night, the water was over the seats of the cairs (chairs) that fearful day of weather on Sunday, the hatches were not drawn up until Monday morning the poor souls went with lights an drawn them up, it's no use for I to try and keep up the cottage while he keeps letting the water in and it is of no use for I to say anything to him for I only get abuse from him from your humble servant, ——." The only redress which the Lords were able to obtain from the tenant, whose conduct was thus forcibly complained of, was a

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promise, over and over again repeated, that his "Drowner" should be instructed to draw up the hatches when necessary. The Provost often spoke of the amusement he derived from the tenant's constant use of the term "my Drowner," for the man who had charge of the sluices for irrigating the water meadows.

'The special business of the Manorial Courts in the western parts of England, where the tenure of estates on copyhold for lives so largely prevailed up to recent times, is now becoming of less importance in consequence of the gradual extinction of the life-holds. In 1858 the College decided to discontinue the custom of granting fresh lives on their farm copyholds; and this decision was followed in 1879 by a resolution not to grant any further renewals of lives on copyholds of houses or cottages. They felt that it was most in accordance with modern ideas of estate management to let the lives run out in all cases, and deal with the property absolutely as it fell into hand, instead of having the responsibility of ownership without the direct power of controlling the management and maintenance of the premises. Accordingly notice of this final resolution was formally announced to the copyholders at the Courts held in 1880, which, as stated above, happened to be the first occasion on which the late Provost took part in the Circuit.'

The Vice-Provost (as he then was) made a custom

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of writing lively accounts to Provost Okes of the incidents of their visits; how they were hospitably (almost too hospitably) received in various quarters; how they encountered garrulous old gentlemen who inquired anxiously for the Provost's health; how the tenants had fair crops, and yet found the rent too high; how the incumbents met with different degrees of success in dealing with the difficulties in their parishes. And it seems that the old lady mentioned above was still to the fore in 1887. 'But perhaps the chief incident,' he writes, 'in our day at Brixton (Deverill) was a harangue by old Mrs. —— at the Court. She lifted up her voice, and hands too, and in broad Wiltshire declaimed against the College for having allowed the lands to get into so few hands. That is *her* remedy for agricultural depression.'

To another friend he had written while he was on Circuit in 1883: 'At C—— we found a tenant, who keeps pigs instead of sheep—a system of which we do not approve, but I believe the poor man has no capital to buy a flock. Besides the pigs, the principal inhabitants of the district are pheasants and rabbits. We paid a visit to another tenant there, a prim and stout old lady, who apologised for the "cold currency" (she meant a draught) in her parlour.'

These Circuits of the Provost and Bursar of King's ('the old and the young lord,' as old-fashioned copyholders used to call them) furnish a curious illustra-

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tion of the continuity of English history. When Henry VI. founded his Colleges of Eton and King's, he endowed them with lands belonging to the 'Alien Priories,' which his father had confiscated on going to war with France. It so happened that King's received several manors which had belonged to the Abbey of Bec in Normandy. The great St. Anselm was Abbot of Bec, and had come to England partly in order to visit the Abbey Manors (some of them the same as those now visited by the Provost of King's) when William Rufus forced him on to his uncomfortable throne at Canterbury.

The Vice-Provost was now coming to an end of his career as Tutor. He must have contemplated resignation for some time, for in his diary for September 19, 1880, he notes that he told his brother of his intention to resign at the end of the year. Before that time arrived he had a duty to perform, which might have proved awkward had the natures of the two men concerned in it been different. Dr. Percival Frost had for more than twenty years been the principal Mathematical Lecturer at King's. Originally a Fellow of St. John's, he had conceived a great affection for the College for which he was working, and the affection was fully returned. This was but natural, for, besides being an eminent and original mathematician, he was a most genial, accomplished, and lovable man. But the Educational Council had unwillingly decided that, owing to a diminution in the number

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of mathematical students, they were not justified in paying so large a stipend to the principal Lecturer in that subject. The Senior Tutor had to write to him to that effect. On September 21, 1880, he wrote to the Provost to say that he had done so; that he had sent his letter as speedily as he could, and had frankly stated the reasons for the change; and that he had expressed a hope that before very long the College would be able, under the new Statutes, to reward Dr. Frost's services by electing him to a Fellowship. The general tone of the Tutor's letter may be judged by Frost's answer, which is worth preserving.

September 17, 1880.

'MY DEAR LEIGH,—You have so pleasant a method of telling what might be unpleasant to hear, that, instead of being at all troubled with the intimation of the new arrangements, I feel only more impelled to take the opportunity of thanking you for the uniform kindness which you have shown me in all our dealings. Being reasonable, I see that the College could scarcely do otherwise than make changes such as they propose; and you need not trouble yourself about not having prepared me, because I had come to something like the conclusion at which you have arrived, when I saw the mathematical entry for October 1880.

'In carrying out your work, you know that I shall be a willing instrument, and if, by coming up to

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Cambridge earlier than usual, I can be of any use in the way of consultation, I will be with you on any day you name.

'Having so long taken the greatest interest in the welfare of King's College, I need hardly say that to become as intimately connected with it as your wishes would make me, would be a thing for me to be proud of, and give me immense pleasure.

'I remain,

'Yours ever sincerely,

'PERCIVAL FROST.'

Happily, these wishes were fulfilled. Frost became a Fellow in 1882, and held his Fellowship until his death in 1898.

The Tutor's resignation of his office took effect early in the Lent Term of 1881. Writing some years later he says that he believes his reason was that he wished to secure for the College the services of Mr. (now Bishop) Welldon.

Apart from this motive one would think that he must have wished for some rest, for during the few last years he had been Tutor, Vice-Provost, member of the Council of the Senate, and College Commissioner for making Statutes, and had taken an active part in all College movements. He had had, however, good holidays, either abroad, or at golfing resorts at home, or visiting at country houses, and had found time to entertain brothers, sisters, and cousins at

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Cambridge. He had now arrived at a time of life when it was likely that the elder generation of his family would gradually disappear, and by a man of his affectionate nature, belonging to a family so closely linked together, such losses were sure to be felt. Especially severe was the loss of his father's unmarried sister, Miss Caroline Austen, who died in November 1880. She had devoted herself to her nephews and nieces, and had for many years kept house for his brothers Charles and Spencer in Sussex. She was remarkable not only for her unselfish and affectionate disposition, but also for her talents and her agreeable and witty conversation. Her nephews and nieces always believed that in these particulars, and in the general tone of her mind, she bore a strong resemblance to their great-aunt, Jane Austen.

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CHAPTER XI

VICE-PROVOST AND DEAN

The most important College event of the period which we have now reached was the introduction of the new Statutes. This event, which finally severed new King's from old King's, took place in July 1882. Before the College could completely assume its new dress, it was necessary first that a Council should be elected, and be furnished by the Governing Body with the necessary powers, and, secondly, that the educational staff should be reconstituted and placed on a regular footing; for the ordinary Fellowships now became terminable, and it was desirable that the offices carrying a prolonged tenure should be clearly defined. The election of the Council, and the settlement of its powers, presented no difficulty; but there was a great deal of debate and hesitation as to the arrangement of the teaching staff. This question was to come before the Annual Congregation of November 1882, and the Vice-Provost undertook to prepare a scheme. This he did; and he supported it by circulating a fly-sheet containing explanations and arguments. The outline of his plan was as follows:—

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(1) There were to be two Tutors, and as Tutors it would be their duty to teach without being called also Lecturers; and they were to be paid not by fees, but by fixed stipends.

(2) There were to be just so many Lecturers as the College could afford to pay adequately, and they were to lecture in those subjects for which the College possessed efficient teachers, recourse being had to the inter-collegiate system for the instruction of students in other subjects.

(3) The stipends of the Tutors were to be 400*l*. and 300*l*. respectively; those of the Lecturers were to vary from 250*l*. to 200*l*.

(4) On the re-appointment of any Tutor or Lecturer after the expiration of the period fixed for the tenure of his office, the College should consider whether any increase should be made in his stipend.

(5) On the occurrence of any vacancy in a Lectureship some machinery should be provided for considering whether any change should be made in its destination; or, in other words, whether a Lectureship in some different subject should be substituted for it.

(6) The Council should be authorised to spend a maximum of 200*l*. a year on additional teaching.

This scheme was based on the idea that the old Cambridge system, by which the Tutor—an administrative rather than an educational officer—took all the fees, spent as much as was necessary in the

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provision of teaching, and pocketed the remainder, was unsuitable for an 'Honours' College. The Tutor was to be a teacher as such, the College claiming his time and energy and paying him an adequate salary. Where quality rather than quantity was the object in the admission of students, their fees could not possibly furnish the whole of their teachers' stipends, and the College must (as it had always done in some form or other) contribute. But the divisible income was just now rapidly diminishing in consequence of the depression of agriculture, while there was a temporary set-back in the increase of students paying fees. On the other hand the new Statutes, by allowing marriage, showed that a career, and therefore an adequate remuneration, for teachers was a prime object; and another important desideratum was that these teachers should be Fellows. Everything therefore pointed to the establishment of a comparatively small staff, using the men whom the College possessed, and paying them as much as the funds would allow. Thus, for instance, the College had among its Fellows two very efficient History teachers, and no Natural Science teacher. It was better, therefore, at present to contribute to the common stock the teaching of history, and to assist the Natural Science students by paying back to them the greater part of their fees, so as to enable them to get good instruction outside; while at the same time the system would be elastic enough to

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provide for the substitution of a Natural Science Lectureship for one of the others when a vacancy occurred.

A rain of fly-sheets followed that of the Vice-Provost. Mr. Prothero, while supporting his scheme generally, pleaded (1) for *some* 'payment by results' both in the case of Tutors and Lecturers; (2) for the retention by the Tutors of the title of 'Lecturer.' Mr. Tilley wished the Tutors to be able to hold Lectureships as before; and Mr. Clarkson (who had a scheme of his own) wished, like Mr. Prothero, for a part-payment 'by results' both in the case of Tutors and Lecturers. More far-reaching were the objections of Mr. Karl Pearson. Looking upon research as perhaps the main object of the new system, he wished for a larger number of officers, each with a smaller stipend but greater leisure for private study. He also pleaded for a Natural Science Lecturer. Mr. Macaulay proposed the addition of a class of Annual Lecturers, who might be without stipend, but whose office would carry the prolongation of their Fellowships. This was no doubt an improvement on the Vice-Provost's proposals; the weak point of whose scheme was the absence of any sufficient provision for allowing young Fellows to show what they were worth as teachers, and enabling the College to retain their services, pending the occurrence of vacancies in the regular paid staff. The Annual Lectureships would have the further advantage of answering Mr. Pearson's

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demand for the endowment of research, as it was possible to attach only nominal teaching duties to some of them.

With Mr. Macaulay's addition, and with other modifications, the scheme was eventually passed. The addition of the title of 'Lecturer' was conferred on the Tutors; and it was decided, on the initiative of Mr. Browning, that a sum, fixed at the beginning of each financial year according to the requirements of that year, should be paid over from the College account to assist the Tuition Fund. No 'payment by results' has since obtained in King's, except that a small portion of the fees paid by out-College students has occasionally been given to Lecturers with a specially large class; but there has been a rise in the general standard of stipends, so as to make them more nearly commensurate with the dignity and importance of the work required of the teachers. After an experiment of a few years, the College preferred to return to the one-Tutor system, grouping round him Assistant Tutors in different faculties. In other respects the scheme of 1882 has been the groundwork on which the educational staff has been built up.

The discussion on the staff had been preceded in the autumn of 1882 by another event consequent on the new Statutes—the election of Dr. Westcott to the first of the four Professorial Fellowships attached to King's. He was a Fellow of whom any College might be proud, and the rising generation could hardly fail

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to be impressed by a mind in which the spiritual and the intellectual were blended in so unique a mixture. Earlier in the year Austen Leigh had felt obliged to take for a second time the office of Dean, and this he held until the autumn of 1886. He had intended to use the comparative leisure of the two previous years partly in reading theology, but he notes in his diary that preparation for examining in the University, and teaching in the Choir School, would keep him to classics. He did, however, read through nearly all the Apostolical Fathers in three years (an entry in his diary for August 29, 1883, is 'finished Barnabas at last'), as well as a good deal of general literature.

In 1882 he examined in Part I. of the Classical Tripos, and his being asked to do this was a compliment, for it was the first examination after the commencement of the new system, under which the order of merit was abolished, and divisions of classes substituted. The number of candidates was small, only one portion of the students of the year choosing to go in at that time; but precedents had to be set, and it was important to have experienced and sensible men to set them.

His second tenure of the office of Dean was not marked by so many reforms as the first; it was rather a time for steady administration. Indeed, he had attended so many Chapels, and taken such a lively interest in the Choir School, as Vice-Provost,

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that the additional office did not add so very much to his work, though it did to the amount of necessary residence. One reform was made in the Choir at this time, very much on his initiative, viz., the addition of Choral Scholars. Their cost was, in the first instance, defrayed by private donations from himself and one or two other Fellows; the College relaxing the 'Honours' rule in their case (a relaxation of which many of them have not availed themselves), and, later on, contributing something out of the corporate funds to each Scholarship. He was constant in his kindness to the Choir boys, teaching them, playing cricket, football, or chess with them, and entertaining them. It was enough for any of them—or indeed for any undergraduate or other acquaintance—to be ill, and a visit from the Vice-Provost was sure to follow. One of the boys was trying for a School Scholarship (he afterwards obtained one, and in due course a Scholarship at King's), and 'Besley's lesson' is a frequent entry in the diaries. He preached occasionally, continuing, as before, to please others much better than himself; he says (April 29, 1884), 'I find each sermon more difficult to write than the one before;' (May 3) 'finished (?) my sermon; a very unsatisfactory performance.' His sermons elsewhere were very few: one for his brother at Winterbourne in Gloucestershire, one at Great St. Mary's when Dr. Luard was ill, and one at a Sunday Evening Service at Girton College.

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Another channel of activity was found in University work. Though not on the Council at this time, he served on various syndicates, and examined not only for the Tripos, but also for the Chancellor's medals and the Winchester reading prize. Several quasi-University posts also fell to his lot; he was a representative Governor of Girton College, and in May 1883 he was made President of the University Musical Society. 'It seems,' he wrote afterwards, 'to be my fate to be made President of things which I really don't know much about; for I am also President of the Golf Club here.'

'The position of President of the Musical Society,' says Sir C. Villiers Stanford, who has kindly written a memorandum on this subject, 'is never a sinecure, and was more than usually difficult at the time of his acceptance of it. The Society had reached a high level of excellence, and had come to be regarded, in the words of Sir George Grove, "as one of the powers of the country." The organisation had for some time been centred in the hands of the late Mr. Gerard Cobb, a man of very exceptional administrative ability. When he retired from the presidency it became a very difficult and delicate matter to re-apportion the different duties among a number of men who were unfamiliar with them, and so to lighten the task of the incoming President. After consultation with Mr. Henry Bradshaw I asked the Vice-Provost if he would undertake the

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post, which he most readily and cordially agreed to do. Without his tact and unfailing courtesy the Society might have had a very difficult and dangerous crisis; but his immediate grasp of the old conditions, and the methods necessary to retain their good results while altering the constitution, made the transition from an autocracy to a limited monarchy almost imperceptible. It is characteristic of the subtle influence which he exercised upon bodies over which he presided, that on no single occasion can I remember a warm (still less a heated) controversy in Committee during his *régime.* His touches of genial humour often enlivened a dull and dry discussion. In the drafting of some circular when (after the manner of Committees) almost every sentence had been twisted out of all recognition, he would wind up by saying, "And now let us give it all to Jenkinson" (now University Librarian) "to translate into English." It was not only in administrative matters that he was so invaluable to the Society; he also took a deep interest in its influence upon music generally, and warmly encouraged its efforts to preserve the highest standard of performance, and to keep in touch with the greater world of art outside. Cambridge is not likely to forget what it owes to Augustus Leigh as one of the principal agents in the opening of King's College Chapel to the complete rendering of such choral and orchestral masterpieces as Bach's two Passions, Beethoven's 9th Symphony, Parry's Judith,

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in addition to the more familiar oratorios, under conditions inferior to none, and superior to most.'

One more office, which was conferred upon him somewhat later, in May 1886, and which he held till his death, gave him especial pleasure, viz., the Presidency of the University Cricket Club. His election to this office was of course the result, and not the cause, of his deep interest in University cricket, which shows itself in constant entries in his diaries, and to which many families of Cambridge cricketers of different dates—Lytteltons, Steels, Studds, Fords, Douglases, Wilsons, &c.,—could bear witness. But it raised the pleasant task of seeing most of the University matches to the rank of a duty; it even induced him—though he was not fond of public feasts—to attend the dinner given to the Australian cricketers at Lord's, on June 25, 1886, and the M.C.C. Centenary dinner on June 16, 1887. His own College was not yet large enough, and was too studious, to produce many prominent cricketers; but it was a happy accident that, in the year of his election to the Provostship, King's contributed two members to the University Eleven. One of these, Francis Ford, was the captain, who led his team to victory against Oxford; the other, H. J. Mordaunt, scored more than a hundred runs in the match. He did not live to see history repeat itself in 1905, when again two Kingsmen played for the University, and again one of them contributed largely to the victory of his

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side by getting a hundred runs in the second innings, the other having scored fifty in the first. He seldom plays cricket now,' says the *Granta* in an article on the Provost, April 22, 1893, 'but is a familiar spectator of the game, and has been known at Fenner's to turn the tide of victory in our favour by simply appearing.'

In these quiet duties and pursuits he saw the years slip away, showing the same hospitality as before, and making use of his holidays for travelling, visits, and golf. His hospitality was not quite confined to Cambridge; for he took an undergraduate cousin with him on a Christmas visit to Dresden, and another time gave two of his nieces, who were just then abroad with their parents, the pleasure of a tour in the Austrian Highlands. Another short absence, which dwelt much in his memory, was the Easter of 1883, spent in the South of France with Henry Bradshaw. Meanwhile the College was steadily growing in the number both of its undergraduates and its resident Fellows, and its mental activity grew with its numerical strength. On the material side a useful additional building at the back of the Hall, sanctioned in May 1883, provided a good lecture room and a few living rooms, the architect being Mr. W. M. Fawcett. The lecture room was inaugurated on October 13, 1885, by a lecture on Provost Whichcote delivered by Dr. Westcott.

The year 1885 saw a good deal of collegiate activity

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of different sorts. There was no examination for Fellowships at King's, but candidates had been for several years allowed—very much on the initiative of Mr. Browning—to send in dissertations on some subject approved by the electors. The Vice-Provost and Mr. Prothero now got the College to define the qualifications for election as consisting of (1) University Degrees; (2) University Scholarships and Prizes; (3) College Examinations; (4) Dissertations. About the same time the diminution of external income induced the College to appoint a Financial Committee to suggest economies, on which the Vice-Provost served. His own plan for relieving the financial tension was the suspension of Fellowships. He always maintained his opinion that the College had better content itself with a somewhat smaller number, and frequently brought the question forward, but he by no means always succeeded in inducing the Governing Body even to make use of the very small liberty of moving in this direction which is allowed by the Statutes as they at present exist.

This winter brought his tenure of the Deanship to a close. As there was no clerical Fellow living in College who was available for the post, some of the Governing Body wished to take advantage of a provision in the new Statutes, and authorise the electors to Fellowships to elect a clergyman from outside with an obligation to hold the office. The Vice-Provost and Bradshaw were both in favour of this plan, but the

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majority were clearly against it, and it fell through. But somewhat later the object of the proposers was to a certain extent obtained by a decision of the College to apply for a new Statute allowing one of the two Deans to live out of College, a liberty which gave a better chance of securing a suitable clerical Dean. Had the original idea been carried out, Austen Leigh would have been ready to remain in office for another half-year, in order to give time for the necessary preliminaries. But he was very glad to be free, as the following letter to the Provost shows :—

December 21, 1885.

'My dear Sir,—As I cease to be Dean, I think I am right in sending you this book, to be handed over to Mr. Nixon. You will not be surprised to hear that I am very glad to get rid of it.'

This is one of a large number of letters, extending over a good many years. Provost Okes was now too old to appear frequently in College, and he depended very much on the Vice-Provost's letters to keep him informed of the course of business, and of the little incidents and little troubles which are inevitable in an institution composed of active members of all ages. When a meeting was to take place he was to be informed of the agenda for it; when a lay clerk had to be admonished, the reasons for the action were to be given. In this way confidence was established between the two principal members of

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the Foundation, a confidence which increased with each year. The Vice-Provost's letters were frank and cheerful, but they rarely extended beyond the matter immediately in hand. Occasionally a touch of humour was added; for instance, at a time of disturbed politics and radical supremacy, 'I dare-say you have heard of the fall of the crown from one of the side Chapels. I am told that the crown is hardly broken, though it had made a considerable hole in the grass. Some people might think the incident ominous.' Or this, in allusion to the restriction of admission to Honour students, and to a proposed present of Peacocks to the College: 'The Council seemed on the whole unfavourable to the admission of Peacocks, though I am sure they cannot be considered as "Poll" birds.'

This was the condition of affairs at Christmas 1885; but the College and the University were now about to suffer a severe loss. In the morning of February 11, 1886, Henry Bradshaw was found dead in his chair. He had dined out the evening before, and on his return home had sat down to work, and then, apparently, sunk into sleep and death at the same time. The end was singularly like what happened afterwards to the subject of this Memoir. In neither case was any other person present; but in each there was every reason to hope that the end was painless, and that the circumstances were such as to render any prevision of it unlikely. Enough

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has been said already of Bradshaw—if indeed any reader of this biography should be ignorant of Dr. Prothero's Memoir of him—to show what his value was; but it may be worth while to quote a description given by the Vice-Provost at the time to one who had never met him.

February 21, 1886.

'My dear F.,—I promised to tell you something about the friend whom we have lost; and yet it is very difficult to describe him. In his own subjects he knew so much that he might have become famous; but he was absolutely without ambition, and so unselfish that he was always giving up his valuable time and stores of knowledge to other people, who wrote the books and got the credit, which ought to have been his. A great German historian and scholar—Mommsen—who was in England last year, said that he had been more impressed by Bradshaw than by anyone whom he met in England, and that he would have given a great deal to have had a shorthand writer to take down what Bradshaw had told him in the course of a conversation. But to many of us Bradshaw was something quite different from this. When I came here as an undergraduate there were very few Fellows living in College, and some of them could have been spared without loss. He was the one Fellow to whose rooms one could always go, and who was a real friend of every undergraduate who went there;

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and as there were only about twelve of us in those days, we naturally saw a great deal of him. For years I used to breakfast with him every Sunday morning, and his door was always open every evening till any hour. It was a sort of home in College, and —besides being most original and unlike other people —he was thoroughly natural and had a tact and a tenderness which were more like a woman's than a man's.

'As the College grew, of course he did not know all the undergraduates as he had known us; but there were always some who were attracted by him, and his friends were always intimate friends. To many his rooms were the natural place to go to when they came up on a visit after an absence of years. Latterly he did not mix much in our College politics; he disliked controversies, and had quite enough of them in his work as University Librarian; but he was a sort of oracle in the College. When things got into a regular knot you naturally went and consulted him. Everybody knew that he was impartial.

'I think no one else in Cambridge would have been so widely and so deeply regretted.'

It was a matter of course that the University should not let the occasion pass without a proposal for a Memorial to so eminent a scholar. Accordingly a meeting was held in King's College Hall on

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March 16, at which the Vice-Chancellor presided. 'I ought properly' (says Austen Leigh, writing to the Provost) 'to have got the leave of the Council to use the Hall; but I forgot it, and I am sure they will not grudge the use of it for such a purpose.' A bust was to be given by the subscribers to the University and placed in the Library. In the meanwhile a party of Bradshaw's friends had met, and had decided to ask Mr. Prothero to write a Memoir of him.

The College is fortunate enough to possess another Memorial, through the generosity of Mr. Herkomer. In the summer of 1881 Mr. Herkomer (who had already painted for the College a portrait of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe) was staying at King's, painting the Provost's portrait. He, like other clever men, was much attracted by Bradshaw, and he made a picture of him in the intervals of his other work. This picture, after the death of Bradshaw, he gave in the first instance to Mr. Prothero, with whose goodwill it was passed on to the College. It now hangs in the Hall.

One result of Henry Bradshaw's death was that Austen Leigh was elected to take his place on the Council of the Senate. He now remained continuously a member of that Board until his final retirement from it in 1900.

The year 1887 brought the Jubilee, and the Jubilee brought a solemn service in the Chapel with

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the 'Dettingen Te Deum,' and a tenants' dinner in Hall; but in general the next two years were uneventful in the history of the College. In the private history of the Vice-Provost they had an importance little dreamt of at the time by his relations or his colleagues. Outwardly, however, he pursued the even tenour of his way, and term time and vacation were spent as usual. In January 1888 he was at Bembridge in the Isle of Wight. A pleasant party of old friends was assembled for golf, and—as often happens in still weather at that time of year—a thick fog brooded over the Solent. Austen Leigh had promised to be back at King's on January 10 in order to be present at a dinner in Hall, at which one of his friends was to entertain a party of French 'Professeurs.' No dissuasion could prevent him from starting; the promise had been made, and must be kept. Naturally he found, on arriving at Ryde, that the steamer would not cross; whereupon he, with eight or nine other travellers, chartered a rowing boat to take them to Portsmouth. There was not much risk in this, for the sea was perfectly calm, but there must have been a good deal of cold and discomfort; and when they reached Portsmouth the proper train had gone. So he eventually reached Cambridge too late for Hall. It would have required many Professors to induce any of the rest of us to take this step.

The long reign of Provost Okes was now drawing

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to a close. He had celebrated his ninetieth birthday on December 15, 1887, in fair health; but before another year was finished he had a short attack of illness which carried him off on November 25, 1888—two days before the completion of the thirty-eighth year of his residence at King's as Provost.

Dr. Okes's period of office had been singularly eventful. It had begun with a reform, initiated by himself, by which his College resigned for its students the fatal privilege of obtaining degrees without examination. It had included two Parliamentary Commissions with their resulting codes of new Statutes; it had seen his College transformed from a small body of close Fellows and Scholars into one of the most important educational factors in the University; it had seen the number of the undergraduates grow from twelve or fifteen to nearly a hundred, and the numbers of resident Fellows multiply threefold;—while, as to the Fellows, the increase of work was out of all proportion greater than the increase of numbers. The Provost was a good scholar and an industrious man, and his standard of life and conduct was high. He therefore fully appreciated the improved tone of the King's of his days, and took a great interest in the honours gained by its scholars. But he was a Conservative, and a loyal—perhaps an exclusive—Etonian, and he had little sympathy either with Mathematics (of which he occasionally

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amused himself by feigning complete ignorance), or with the newer studies. When the time came for opening the College wide, he was for moving slowly, and ardent spirits sometimes chafed under the restrictions and delays which his cautious nature interposed. This friction, however, had long passed away. The Provost had accepted loyally the enlarged basis on which the College stood, and the change in his own status from that of an autocrat to the more delicate position of a constitutional sovereign. There was therefore nothing now to prevent the younger members from paying to their Head the respect and regard which his age and character deserved, though he appeared but little among them, and could no longer offer the hospitality which he had freely dispensed in the earlier years of his residence. Two conspicuous examples of the feelings of the Fellows towards him were afforded during the last ten years of his life. In 1881 his portrait by Mr. Herkomer was subscribed for, and presented to the College, and in 1887, on his ninetieth birthday, the whole body of Fellows combined in giving him a book—Mr. J. W. Clark's 'Architectural History of Cambridge'—with addresses in English and Latin verse. Few old gentlemen of ninety would have been able to answer, as he did, in a neat copy of Latin Hendecasyllables.

The beginning of the English poem, which was written by Mr. A. R. Ropes, has been already quoted

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by the Provost's successor, in his 'History of King's College.' The whole sonnet is as follows :—

A little flock we were in Henry's hall,
  Few were the subjects of your early sway;
  Hardly the circle widened, till one day
The guarded gate swung open wide to all.
Many and mighty are they now that call
  The saintly king their Founder, when they pay
  Their fuller reverence in the ancient way,
And with fresh numbers keep the festival.
Three generations of the lives of men,
Of scholars' generations three times ten—
  And still your hand lifts high the golden flame
    Of sacred knowledge till to-day you hear
  Our birthday homage to our Provost's name,
    With ninefold honour for your ninetieth year.

Provost Okes had shown on one occasion that if he loved Mathematics little he loved the credit of his College much; for when at last King's obtained its one Senior Wrangler in the person of Mr. Arthur Berry, he sent for him to give him his personal congratulations, and presented him with an engraving of William Oughtred, a famous King's mathematician of older days.

The Provost's address and bearing were well calculated, though he was small of stature, to impress young men. When he read the Communion Service his voice was worthy of the College Chapel; when he wrote letters, handwriting and diction were worthy of its Head. His countenance presented a mixture

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of dignity and humour, which are well reproduced in Mr. Herkomer's portrait. Indeed, his sense of humour was so strong that he sometimes gave the impression of a man who doubts whether he ought to laugh at something or other which tickles his fancy, but is unable to resist it; and many of his own witty sayings remain in the minds of his friends. He had been assiduously watched and nursed, and perhaps kept alive, by the care of his devoted daughters.

The first action of the Fellows on his death was to postpone all business that was not urgent until after the funeral; the next, to decide that the Provost should be buried in the Ante-chapel. This can legally be done, in the case of members of the Foundation dying within its walls; but it seems unlikely that it will ever be done again. The ceremony took place on November 30 in the presence of the Visitor (Bishop King), the Provost of Eton, and a large concourse from the University and the College. 'Churton, Hornby, Westcott, and Visitor' (says the diary) 'did the service, which was most impressive, and the singing almost faultless,' and, indeed, no one could witness without emotion the breaking of so venerable a link with the past. The Vice-Provost had energy enough left, after so trying a day, to instruct two doubtful candidates for the Tripos in the evening, and the entry ends with the words 'Horace with —— and ——.'

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As soon as business was resumed, the Governing Body took in hand the question of building. The need of additional rooms for undergraduates had now become urgent, and the vacancy at the Lodge set free a splendid site by the river, which had hitherto been used by the Provost as a kitchen garden. It was soon settled to build there and to ask Mr. Bodley to supply the design.

But of course the succession of the Provostship occupied most men's thoughts. Austen Leigh would be the natural choice of the Fellows if they were to base their selection upon educational services rendered to the College; but it was possible that some men might think it their duty to go further afield and seek out a man of greater distinction in the intellectual world at large. The Vice-Provost himself—though the occasion was more critical than anybody then knew, for an adverse vote would probably terminate his connection with the College—was quite prepared for this, and ready to meet either fortune. He wrote in answer to a friend as follows (November 25): 'As to the Provostship I feel most sincerely that it ought, if possible, to be held by a distinguished man and one who is intellectually prominent among his fellow-men, and *that* I certainly am not and never shall be; in fact, I am well aware that I am much better fitted to be Vice-Provost than Provost.

'And so, if the choice of the electors should fall

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on some stronger and abler man, I shall think that they have done their duty to the College, and most cordially accept such a decision; if it should fall on me, I can but do my best. . . . A few years ago I thought the choice of the Fellows might very likely —and most properly—fall on Bradshaw.'

To another friend he wrote (January 29): 'My only regret is that I should hear anything about the election. I meant to be absent, and hoped that—whatever the result might be—I should never know who had voted for me or who against me. But perhaps this was too much to hope for; and I think I can promise that—if the choice of the majority should fall on me—the knowledge how individual Fellows had voted would make no sort of difference in my feelings towards them.'

The election was fixed for February 9, and the non-resident Fellows assembled for it. Some had come a day earlier in order to be present at a service in the Chapel at which the organ, repaired and enlarged, was used again for the first time, and 'The Woman of Samaria' (chosen because Sterndale Bennett began life as a Chorister at King's) was performed.

On the day of election all the M.A. Fellows, except the Vice-Provost, met in the College Chapel at 11 A.M. Before twelve o'clock Augustus Austen Leigh had been elected Provost by a very large majority, and (we think it may be added) with the

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general goodwill of the minority who had thought it their duty to vote for a distinguished candidate from outside. Austen Leigh was summoned, and came at once into the Chapel, where he accepted the office in a few simple and modest words. None but Fellows were supposed to be present, but Dr. Mann had contrived to insinuate himself into the organ loft, and struck up the familiar strains of the 'Occasional Overture.' The undergraduates gave a very evident assent to the action of the Governing Body by the applause with which they greeted the entry of the new Provost into Hall that evening. 'Large party,' the diary says, 'in Hall and Combination Room. I had to get through an attempt at a speech in answer to Sir T. Wade.'

Now that the election was over he announced—first to his nearest relations, and then to his colleagues—his engagement to Miss Florence Emma Lefroy. It was a complete surprise to them all. The engagement had been formed a good while before, but had been specially kept from the knowledge of the two brothers nearest to him in age, because they were both Fellows of King's, and he thought that, in case of the occurrence of a vacancy in the Provostship, they might be unduly biassed in his favour at the election if they were aware of its special importance to himself. Miss Lefroy was the eldest daughter of Mr. G. B. Austen Lefroy, and her mother was a Miss Cracroft, niece of Sir John Franklin. Mr. Lefroy's

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mother had been a half-sister of the new Provost's father, so that there was a cousinship to bring them together, though they had actually met for the first time at Cambridge only about three years earlier. What his marriage meant to the Provost himself during the remainder of his life, and what its importance has been to the College, can hardly be adequately explained to those who do not already know it.

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CHAPTER XII

PROVOST

Now that we have reached a dividing line in Austen Leigh's administration at King's, it is worth our while to put side by side the numbers of the College at three different periods—viz., the beginning of 1868, when he became Tutor, a similar date in 1889, when he became Provost, and the date of his death in January 1905. When he first took up his work there were about twenty undergraduates, and perhaps eight resident Fellows; but the latter were so constantly coming and going that an exact estimate is impossible. There is no such difficulty in dealing with the two later dates, for it was provided in the Statutes of 1882 that the Council should issue, 'shortly before audit in every year, a report on the general and educational condition of the College.' This report is now circulated among all the members of the College whose names are on the books, and the 'general' portion of it was, from the time of its institution till the last year of his life, always written partly by the late Provost. From these reports we learn that there were in November 1888 twenty-nine resident Fellows, twenty-two B.A.'s, and ninety-four

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undergraduates; and in November 1904 thirty-five resident Fellows, twenty-two B.A.'s, and 146 undergraduates. The growth of the College has corresponded with his own methods of action; it has been steady and even rather than sensational. He ardently wished for its development, but his nature would always have led him to point out to intending parents its drawbacks as well as its advantages, and neither he nor his successors in the Tutorship have ever been accustomed to make exceptions from the strict 'Honours' standard of admission in favour of men whom for family, social, or athletic reasons they might have wished to include. There are now some indications of an opinion among the authorities that the College is reaching its proper maximum; indeed, in 1904 Austen Leigh joined with two Fellows in advocating a limitation of numbers. He appears to have feared lest the students should get beyond the grasp of a single Tutor, and lest they should split up into mutually exclusive sets. It seems, however, judging from experience, that a society of 150 young men is a healthier organism than one of eighty or ninety. Different sets there will be in any case; intimacies will be formed between men of similar tastes and similar antecedents. But these intimacies will be less marked, and will be more compatible with a general patriotic goodwill to the community in the larger than in the smaller body. Certainly there were, at the beginning of his Pro-

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vostship, difficulties in the undergraduate society of King's, which have never reappeared in anything like the same shape. It was probably the existence of these difficulties which led him, in the first sermon in which he addressed the undergraduates as Provost (March 3), to dwell so strongly on the duty of unity. 'If the reunion of Christendom seems a far-off dream, is it too much to hope that within a single College the dream should become a reality? We *must* live together, work together, play together; yet the very closeness of the connection, which ought to destroy jealousy and distrust, may only serve to strengthen them. It *will* do so, if there is no true fellowship; if we do not keep steadfastly before our minds the common faith on which our lives are founded, the common purpose which ought to bind those lives together. It is only family love which makes men to be of one mind in a house; it is only Christian love which can knit hearts together in a College.'

The new Provost's time was very fully occupied. He had to get accustomed to his new duties without shaking off much of his old work. He was on the Council of the Senate, he was examining for the Bell Scholarships and at Girton, and he had now *ex officio* a voice in adjudging the Chancellor's Medal for English Verse, and the Porson Prize for Greek Iambics. In the course of the spring he had to take his share in the responsible task of electing a

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new Greek Professor. He did not even entirely give up the quieter engagement of reading with his two young friends. Meanwhile he was preparing for his marriage; and, as a part of these preparations, it was necessary to arrange with the Bursar for alterations at the Lodge, and to furnish the house—which was a large one—with only the contents of three moderate-sized rooms to start upon.

His first public function, however, was concerned neither with the College, nor with impending matrimony. 'He took an active part,' says Sir C. Villiers Stanford, 'in arranging a dinner to Joachim on the occasion of his Jubilee in 1889, when he presided over a table filled with all sorts of University musicians, from Lord Kelvin (a founder of the Society) to Freshmen, and honoured by some of Joachim's intimate friends, Leighton, Tadema, and others, as guests.' It was a pleasant evening, and marked by an excellent speech from the principal guest, who showed his usual intimate knowledge of the English language, and of the tone of an English gathering. He narrated his first appearance at the University, when he played Mendelssohn's Concerto in the Senate House, and told a good story of an early concert at Drury Lane Theatre, when he was rather surprised at being announced on the programme as the 'Hungarian Boy.' He was quite satisfied, however, when he discovered the probable reason—viz., that another part of the concert con-

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sisted of a selection from 'The Bohemian Girl'—an opera which was then at the height of its popularity.

The Provost of course wished to be as often as possible in London, where Miss Lefroy then was—whom he described, in a letter to a friend, as 'a much greater treasure than the Provostship.' At Cambridge, where he could not have her company, he seems sometimes to have found solitude the best substitute for it; at least the diary contains two notices of walks without a companion to Grantchester and Trumpington. There were two particularly interesting episodes in the time that intervened before his wedding: a dinner given to him by his old friends, and a visit to Lord Tennyson. On May 15 he had just come from his first meeting of the Eton Governing Body (of which he was now *ex officio* a member), and he notes: '8 P.M. dinner at the Freemasons' Tavern in my honour—very successful—F. A. Bosanquet making a splendid chairman and capital speech. A. J. Balfour sat on the other side of me. Most present were Kingsmen *or* Etonians—but Cholmeley' (his eldest brother) 'was there.' It was a fresh illustration of the close attachment that existed between the guest of the evening and the chairman; for the latter was just then acting as Commissioner on the Northern Circuit, and sitting daily at Manchester. He came straight from the Bench (dressing in the train) and returned to Manchester by night. Neither fatigue nor hurry prevented

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his making an excellent speech, which contained a high tribute to the new Provost, interspersed with good-humoured chaff of his friends round the table, whom he (entirely without any justification) depicted as possible rival candidates.

The entry for July 4 is 'With Florence to Aldworth; the object being to get Tennyson to write her name in a book which he had given. Lovely country about Haslemere, where we found a carriage and pair waiting to take us up to Aldworth (heather, gorse, beeches, and oaks, and a fine view as far as Fairlight, sixty miles off). We were hospitably entertained by Lord and Lady Tennyson and Hallam, especially the two latter, for the poet is very feeble.' Miss Lefroy was a cousin of Lady Tennyson, and the relationship had been kept alive by an unbroken friendship. By the good offices of Lady Tennyson and her son the main object of the visit was accomplished.

On July 9 the wedding took place at St. Jude's Church, South Kensington. The Vicar, Dr. Forrest (now Dean of Worcester), took part in it; but the principal portion of the service was divided between the Bridegroom's brother Arthur and Mr. (now Bishop) Welldon. The last-named gave an address; and a further link with King's was furnished by the presence of the College organist and Choir. One of the former Choir boys, to whom the Provost had given special teaching, A. G. Langdon (then a Choral

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Scholar, and now Incumbent of a College living), sang the bass solo in Wesley's 'Deus misereatur'—a composition written rather more than twenty years earlier for the wedding of a cousin of the Provost's in Gloucester Cathedral, at which he himself had been present.

This day was the beginning of more than fifteen years of unbroken happiness both to Bride and Bridegroom. Some griefs they had to bear, in the deaths of members of their own families, and the husband had a terrible anxiety in the serious illness of his wife in the spring of 1896; but they were never disappointed in each other. 'Never,' says the survivor, 'were two people more devoted to each other. We were seldom apart; and if a brief separation were ever necessary (caused, it may be, by a visitation of the College property with the Bursar) we told each other of our doings in daily letters.'

The long wedding tour in Switzerland and Germany was only the first of many similar journeys, in which they were always together, and were occasionally joined by some near relation or other. The same authority says of these: 'Our delightful tours were made much more interesting by the knowledge of history that Augustus possessed. As we travelled he would often point out places where battles had been fought, describing the positions of the armies, and naming the generals. The movements of Napoleon's forces were well known to him; and

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he was always particularly interested in travelling through countries which had been the theatre of war at the beginning of the nineteenth century. He would often tell stories of eminent men—statesmen, artists, &c.—when passing through the towns in which they lived and worked. He loved everything that was beautiful in nature and in art.'

The journeys sometimes extended to Italy, but were generally divided between the towns of Germany, and the mountains and lakes of Switzerland and Austria. The Provost was a good linguist and enjoyed practising French or German conversation.

It is not intended here to narrate in chronological sequence the history either of the College or of its Provost during the next fifteen years; the progress of the one, and the activity of the other, were too steady, continuous, and unsensational to lend themselves to treatment in detail; and the other actors are, happily, still with us. How his Provostship appeared to one of the foremost of the Fellows will be seen by the following memorandum which Mr. Browning has written for this book.

'When it became certain that Provost Okes had not long to live I wrote to Augustus Austen Leigh, who was then Vice-Provost, telling him that I intended voting for him as Provost. When, after Dr. Okes's death, it was known that another candidate would be put forward whom Austen Leigh thought that I might desire to support, he wrote to release me from the

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promise I had given with regard to his own candidature. I replied that my opinion was unchanged, and that I intended to vote for him as I had before said. I felt that, for our present needs, Austen Leigh would make the better Provost. At that time King's was in a period of growth, and was steadily rising to the eminence which it has since attained. It was above all things necessary for its prosperity that it should have a Head who was popular with all classes of the Fellows, who would excite no opposition by his personality, who would moderate successfully, if he did not lead, and who would give full scope to the ideas of those who were desirous that the College should become a first-rate place of education, while at the same time he understood and respected the prejudices of those who were reluctant to leave the ancient ways. Austen Leigh was elected by a considerable majority, and no one, to my knowledge, had reason to regret the choice.

'The qualities which I have indicated above were displayed in his administration of the College. He was above everything uniformly fair. Everyone expected to find and found in him a bulwark against injustice. He had great moral courage, and was never afraid to declare his opinions when they had once been formed; but he was cautious in forming them, and it was not always easy to see why they took the particular shape which he gave to them. I cannot recall a single instance in which he offered

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opposition to measures which tended to the development and the efficiency of the College, and I can remember many cases where his advice, if followed, would have been productive of great advantage. On one occasion he advocated the creation of a class of Fellowships which should carry all other privileges except that of stipend, and I have often thought that this was a sound policy, and that it is a pity it was not adopted. His care was extended to every branch of the administration. It is difficult to say whether he cared more for the Chapel, the Estates, the education of the College, or the individual interests of the undergraduates and of the servants.

'Perhaps the best way of emphasising his merits is by stating the kind of criticisms which might have been passed upon his government of the College. It was hoped by some at the time of his appointment, that the Provost might act, in a manner, as Tutor of the College. This idea was never fully carried out. The Head of a Cambridge College, if he performs the duty of a Vice-Chancellor for two years with success, has little time left for the details of College work, and after two years' interruption it is difficult to recover the separate items of minute administration. Besides, the Provost was both modest and conscientious; on the one hand he was reluctant to intervene in the province of others, on the other he was unwilling to do anything which he was not certain he could do well. It might be said that he

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was too fond of Eton, and that he placed too high a value on the advantages which King's might derive from its connection with that school. This was, at the most, an amiable weakness. The same view was held by others with even greater force, and the whole question is so doubtful that the experience of many years is needed for its elucidation. In my view he did not at first adequately realise the inherent strength of King's, nor had he as much confidence in the certainty of its success as was possessed by some of his colleagues, including myself. But, if this was a fault, it gradually disappeared, and at the last King's dinner which he attended in London shortly before his death he did full justice to "New King's," as he called the present College, and fixed the date of its commencement at the year 1860.

'He had the art of inspiring not only respect but affection. I myself never saw him walking across the court without my heart going out to him, and many of those connected with him must have felt the same. His wide sympathy and modest temper called out the energies of all in the service of the College in a manner which would have been impossible to a man of more masterful or despotic character. He had the qualities which were eminently necessary for the period in which he held office. Few Provosts, if any, have left a record superior to his, and it will be fortunate if anyone is found to supply his place.'

The scheme, alluded to by Mr. Browning, for

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dividing the Fellowships into two classes, to only one of which the right to receive dividends would be attached, was started by the Provost in the spring of 1894. According to his usual practice he advocated its adoption in a printed fly-sheet. He started from two facts which had become obvious in recent discussions: (1) that the College were unwilling either that the total number of Fellowships should be diminished or that Prize Fellows *as such* should be deprived of dividend; (2) that they nevertheless wished to find money for paying the teachers better. With these he combined two equally sure facts, the diminution of income and the certainty of increased tax to the University, and ended by proposing that twelve out of the forty-six Fellows should have no dividend, though they were to enjoy all other privileges attached to Fellowships. Machinery was to be provided for transferring men from the unpaid to the paid class, and there was to be no exclusion from the latter of Prize Fellows, as such. He, however, no doubt expected that it would be in the main those who meant to work for the College, who would be so transferred, and that, for the most part, Prize Fellowships would cease to be prizes except so far as dignity and status, rooms, commons, and other pleasures of a College home were concerned. He brought his proposal before a Congregation, but it was defeated by so substantial a majority that he never cared to repeat it.

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The statement of increase of numbers given above conveys but a feeble idea of the alertness and life of a growing College at the end of the nineteenth century, and of the many different provinces of thought and action which it invades. Anybody who reads the list of works published by Kingsmen in the course of each year, which is contained in the Annual Report of the Council, will see that it bears witness to an eager—almost a feverish—activity in the composition of books, articles, and papers; while the Fellowship dissertations are so varied in their scope as to take the electors (if they read them) into fields of research untrodden by a good many of them before. No one critic can hope to be at one and the same time an authority on the Evidential Value of Prophecy, Polarised Röntgen Radiation, the MSS. of Propertius, the History of Joint Stock Companies, and the music of Alessandro Scarlatti—to name only a few of the subjects chosen by candidates in recent years.

The matters on which the Governing Body have found it most difficult to satisfy themselves have been the payment of teachers and the tenure and value of Scholarships. On the former point the settlement of 1883 did not allow for the natural desire for an increase of stipend after a period of service. In their endeavours to satisfy this demand the College have oscillated between the principles of automatic increase and of selection by an impartial

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Committee, and the period of transition and uncertainty can hardly be said even yet to have reached its end. So far as any selection was made, the Provost, both by position and character, was the natural person to be the principal member of a selecting Committee—the natural channel of communication between the Council and individual teachers. This was probably the least congenial of his occupations, but he performed the task in a manner which brought into clear relief his absolute impartiality and his consideration for the feelings of others.

Three amended Scholarship Statutes became law during this period; the objects of the changes being to give greater elasticity to the rule prescribing the annual expenditure on prizes of this description, to make some changes in those reserved for Eton, and to introduce—both for Etonians and others—a class of Minor Scholarships intermediate between Foundation Scholarships and Exhibitions. The good offices of the Provost were wanted again here, to explain the nature of the changes affecting Eton to the Governing Body of that school, and to obtain their necessary consent.

The only other corporate activity which need be mentioned here has to do with the provision of new buildings. The reader will remember that on Provost Okes's death a speedy decision was taken to build on what had been the Provost's kitchen garden,

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near the river. Mr. Bodley designed a Court containing three wings of buildings and an open side by the Cam; but the College saw their way only to building the south and east wings, leaving the north side, facing the great lawn, on which he intended to place most of his ornament, to be completed or not as a future generation might decide. This was, of course, a disappointment to the architect, and so also was the decision to add a third floor to the buildings for purposes of accommodation. Yet in spite of these drawbacks the Court is a handsome and satisfactory building; but it could not help being rather costly, for the material is stone, and the foundations were not easily laid. The general idea on which successive Tutors have acted has been to provide rooms enough to allow of a two years' residence in College for every undergraduate. Bodley's Building for a time satisfied this want, but the Society has now again outgrown its accommodation, and the housing problem calls for a fresh solution.

The end of the wedding journey landed the Provost and his wife at the 'Bull' Hotel, Cambridge, in September 1889, before their house was ready to receive them. They moved into the Lodge on a Saturday, and entertained two guests at dinner there on the following Monday. This was a fit beginning of their fifteen years. Unstinted, almost continuous, hospitality became their rule, and it was rendered possible by simplicity of life and economy

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of personal expenditure. The only extravagances consisted in buying books and travelling abroad—unless we ought to add a constant unostentatious course of giving presents to College or individuals, of supporting Church and charitable institutions, and of helping deserving cases. The Provost would certainly never have economised after the fashion of Sir Walter Elliot and his daughter Elizabeth in 'Persuasion,' who 'cut off a few unnecessary charities' and added 'the happy thought of their taking down no present to Anne as had been the yearly custom.'

The hospitality of the Lodge was for all who had a claim on the College, or on the Provost or his wife. Many undergraduates came, and mixed with dons and their families, with the relations and friends of their hosts, or with undergraduates of the other sex from Newnham and Girton. College incumbents came at various times of the year, business men and tenants at Audit, dignified guests from Oxford on Founder's Day, old Eton friends in the Christmas holidays. All this society was of course quite apart from the more formal parties, the visits of great folk, British and foreign, from the outer world, which were among the incidents of his Vice-Chancellorship; though even during that period he was able to combine with a very full discharge of his external duties a good deal of quiet hospitality to College and family.

Though, as Mr. Browning tells us, the Provost

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did not definitely undertake any College teaching, he took a lively interest in the doings of the young men. He had sometimes corresponded with their parents before they came up, he had often examined them for Scholarships or admission, he keenly followed their exploits—intellectual or athletic—and visited them when they were ill. When they left Cambridge he did what he could to help them to school-masterships or other posts. They repaid him with respect and affection; and when they came back to Cambridge they loved to see him at his old post.

A Scholar of an earlier date (Mr. J. P. Whitney) says: 'I could give many instances of his peculiar kindness and consideration for individual cases, which those concerned are not likely to forget. And one of the things we valued most in coming back to the College in later years was the kindly greeting and unfailing interest he kept in us and our lives.' 'It was at the Lodge,' says another, 'that I first gained the feeling that I was one of the members of the College in the true sense of the term.'

There was therefore plenty of miscellaneous work to be done inside the College, and he was a man who always found work to do. 'We who lived by him,' writes his wife, 'think how very much he did in his life. He was never idle; he found his rest and refreshment in passing from one occupation to another. During the half-hours that were free from work he would often read French, German, or Italian

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with me.' But it is always considered at Cambridge that the comparative leisure of a Head gives the University a special claim on his energy for the good of the Commonwealth, and the Provost was not the man to shirk this duty. The University aspect of his work, however, must be left for a separate chapter. In the meanwhile we are able to close this chapter with a general description of his work for the Chapel and religious instruction, whether before or during his Provostship, from the pen of the Bishop of Winchester. The Bishop, who was a Fellow of King's for many years, and had been in turn Dean, Religious Instructor, and Professor, writes as follows:—

'The deep interest taken by the Provost in all that concerned the religious life of the College could not have escaped the attention of any of his more intimate friends. No record of his work and no estimate of his influence in the College would be complete which failed to give prominence to this aspect of his life. It is an aspect which is all the more deserving of especial notice, because it was entirely withdrawn from the remark of the outer world. It represented the simple outcome of his own personal conviction; and its expression, in the case of a man of such rare modesty and such high sense of duty, deservedly carried especial weight in the College.

'At a time of very considerable difficulty, when

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the new Statutes were in process of coming into force, he surprised many of us by the resolute and vigorous advocacy of measures for the maintenance of religious instruction, in accordance with the tenets of the Church of England. Without his energetic intervention the Statute which made this provision would probably from the first have become a dead letter. It was entirely due to his perseverance that two "Religious Instructors" were then appointed by the College; and it was equally due to his sagacity and insight that the Religious Instructors were given a very free hand, and that the only definite duty assigned to them was that of making provision for the sermons in Chapel. He gained, however, by his action a most important point. A College like King's, with a Chapel like King's Chapel, was invested afresh with an especial element of responsibility both towards the religious life of the community and towards the worship in the Chapel. The work that was afterwards done by Dr. Westcott and others, whether in the way of personal and private intercourse with the undergraduates or through week-day evening services and addresses in the Chapel, was the result of Austen Leigh's quite determined policy that the religious side of things should not be ignored, but should rather be emphasised and encouraged.

'He was always greatly concerned upon the subject of the undergraduates' attendance, or rather

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their failure to attend, at the 8 A.M. daily Morning Service. I remember, as an undergraduate, being greatly struck by his remarking that he very gravely doubted whether it had been a wise move on the part of the College to substitute voluntary for compulsory attendance at early Chapel and to introduce the alternative of "signing in" at 8 A.M. The majority of men, he said, would willingly attend as at their family prayers at home, and only needed the slight additional spur of discipline. Later on, when he was no longer "The Tutor" but "The Provost," he took the strong and unusual course of addressing the undergraduates upon the subject in a circular letter. Nothing could be more direct and simple than his representation of the case. I feel certain that it gave no sort of offence, and that many honoured him all the more for taking the undergraduates into his confidence in so straightforward a manner. Temporarily it certainly produced a considerable effect.

'It will not, I think, be unsuitable to give three extracts from this letter, which will illustrate the simple yet quite delicate directness of his dealings with the younger men, and the quiet conviction of his tone respecting the duty of private devotion.

'". . . You will forgive me for speaking quite plainly on this subject, for I cannot think it a small matter. You, most of you, come from homes where family prayers are the custom. If you were

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dressed in time for them (and here you are bound by the College rule to be dressed before 8 A.M.) what would be thought of you, what would you think of yourselves, if you sat in another room, or took a walk, in order to avoid being present at the family gathering? Our 8 A.M. service is simply the family prayers of the College. To neglect them is, I think, to fail in a duty towards God and your College companions; to miss them is, I am sure, to lose a precious opportunity of gaining strength of spirit for facing the work and the trials of the day which has just begun. Circumstances may prevent your coming every day; but that is no reason why you should not make it a rule to come as often as you can.

'"It may be that the influence of a false public opinion deters some of you; and that what is really wanted is a little more Christian manliness and independence of spirit. The fact that the attendance is optional gives to each of you an opportunity of showing that you, at any rate, are not afraid to confess your faith, and that you are making it the foundation of your life. I ask the Scholars of the College to set an example to those who naturally look up to them as intellectually their superiors. I ask the older men not to make it difficult for Freshmen to do what they would probably do, as a matter of course, if they did not fear to be singular. I ask the Freshmen to show, if need be, that they are

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brave enough to act up to their own standard of what is right. . . . .

'"In sending this to all the undergraduates I am, of course, sending it to some who are not members of the Church of England. But I am not afraid of that. I believe that most of them could heartily join in our 8 A.M. service; I am sure that they value, as much as any of us, the unity of College life, and the communion which should exist between its members. I ask them also to claim their privilege as Kingsmen and to come and join in our family prayers.

"A. AUSTEN LEIGH."

October 31, 1889.

'I cannot close this brief reference without mentioning, in terms of the deepest thankfulness, the debt which we Kingsmen owed to his unfailing and unstinted interest in the services of the Chapel. Others will speak of this matter more fully; but among the many who deserve to be remembered for the maintenance of the beautiful and reverent conduct of worship in King's Chapel, he stands out in my recollection as the one to whom we were most indebted.

'His own share in the public ministrations as a preacher was, I always felt, peculiarly valuable. His sermons were almost the model of what preaching should be in a College Chapel, short, clearly expressed, refined in language and illustration, well arranged, and always interesting. He did not shrink from

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touching upon doctrinal questions on the one side, nor upon the daily life of undergraduates on the other; and in both he invariably maintained a high level of thought and teaching. He was listened to gladly. His whole manner was self-contained and refined; he was no orator, but an excellent College preacher; and in such a building, and with such a singularly mixed congregation, nothing could have been better than the kind of sermon which he gave us. He himself was diffident, to a fault, about his powers as a preacher. It was extremely difficult to persuade him to preach; and he resolutely declined all our solicitations that he would preach before the University. Doubtless, the work of preparation was to him a most laborious and anxious duty; but he hardly realised the measure of gratification and, I will add, of spiritual assistance which his carefully constructed addresses were capable of conveying. Great, however, as his diffidence and modesty were, I always felt that he possessed in a remarkable degree a reserve of moral courage and intense religious conviction upon which the conduct of his whole life rested. In any moral or religious question he was always absolutely to be relied on. Conspicuously, and scrupulously, fair in all matters of judgment, he was as true as steel in any question of religious principle. His faith, simple, devout, and sincere, seemed to me to give the explanation of his singularly active, modest, and self-denying character.'

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CHAPTER XIII

COUNCILLOR AND VICE-CHANCELLOR

MANY years had now elapsed since Austen Leigh began to take an active part in the government of the University, but he naturally came more to the front after his election as Provost, and from 1893 to 1895 he was Vice-Chancellor. A general account of this side of his work has therefore been reserved until now; and fortunately it can be given in the words of Dr. Henry Jackson, Fellow of Trinity College, whose authority on these subjects no Cambridge man will be likely to dispute. Dr. Jackson's account is contained in the following letter addressed to the Editor:—

Trinity College, Cambridge.
December 20, 1905.

'MY DEAR AUSTEN LEIGH,—You ask me to write something about the part taken by your brother in the affairs of the University: and, having known him for something like forty years, and having been frequently associated with him at the Council of the Senate and elsewhere, I should not be justified in excusing myself. But I have no confidence in my powers of description, and I am very conscious

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of the difficulty of the undertaking. The details of University business soon fade from the memory even of those who have been concerned in them, and for others they have little interest. So I must be content to set down general impressions, without attempting either narrative or anecdote.

'Your brother's position in the University was one which it is easier to recognise and respect than to describe and explain. He was not distinctively or conspicuously either reformer or legislator or administrator or debater: and yet his knowledge of our affairs, his impartiality, his sound judgment, and his frank exposition, made him, in reform, in legislation, in administration, and in debate, a notable figure and a potent influence. He did not take as large a share in University business as some of his contemporaries have done, and he not infrequently declined nominations offered to him by the Council: but he executed carefully and judiciously whatever he undertook, his membership of a Committee made for harmony and for efficiency, and his moderation was known to all men. And so it was that, whenever the Council had to perform the difficult and responsible duty of naming an occasional Syndicate to investigate some important matter of controversy, his name would usually be among the first to be thought of and to be chosen. We looked to others for the representation of interests or parties: we looked to him as one who, committed to neither

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side, would bring to discussion a wise, generous, independent, judgment.

'He was in all things a moderate: but in his moderation there was no trace of timidity or hesitation. He took the *via media*, not as one who halts between two opinions, nor as one who strikes a balance between conflicting views, but as deliberately choosing it for its own sake. His policy was always definite; his reasons were always clearly conceived; his arguments were always frankly stated. Hence his pronouncement was an important contribution to the discussions of the Art School. He took no interest in compromise as such: but his moderation often showed the way to it. In the language of Greek ethics, his moderation was *τὸ μέτριον* and not *τὸ μέσον*.

'It was in 1876 that he came to the front in University politics. In the early sixties elections to the Council of the Senate—an administrative body created by the Act of 19 and 20 Victoria—had excited little interest. But the agitation for the abolition of tests, which resulted in the Act of 1871, gave to the biennial elections a new importance, and in the early seventies it began to be felt that the juniors were entitled to representation. Accordingly, in 1874, Coutts Trotter and John Peile, and in 1876 your brother, were included in the so-called Liberal ticket. We were sure that your brother would be both an excellent candidate and an excellent

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Councillor, and the event justified our expectation. His candidature was successful, and from that time his position in the University was assured.

'Meanwhile, he was a prominent member of the Board of Classical Studies. In May 1875 a syndicate appointed "to consider the requirements of the University in different departments of study" invited remarks and suggestions from the several Boards of Studies. At the Classical Board we had already framed our answer when someone chanced to say that it was idle to ask for Professorships which we should not get, and that what was most urgently wanted was a reconstruction of the Classical Tripos. The remark was meant as no more than a futile grumble: but, to the great satisfaction of the grumbler, your brother caught it up, and immediately drafted a telling sentence,[1] which attracted attention and led, ultimately, to the reform of the Classical Tripos in 1879.

'At this point I may note that he was an excellent examiner. As a Lecturer on the appointed writings of Plato and Aristotle, I was inclined to be critical of papers set by examiners for the so-called "Middle Tripos" (1872–1882); but I thought your brother's

[1] 'In conclusion, the Classical Board is of opinion that no improvement in the organisation of teaching will suffice to promote the interests of the branches of knowledge under the care of the Classical Board, without some change in the existing Examinations: but they doubt whether it is competent to them to suggest any special alterations on the present occasion' (*Reporter*, March 17, 1876, p. 310).

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paper in one of the appointed subjects for 1875 exactly what such a paper ought to be; fair, searching, judicious. In these ways and in others he exercised a wholesome influence upon the classical studies of the University: and at a later date I regarded his work in this department as one of his qualifications for the Headship of a College in which classical studies have always flourished.

'At the conclusion of your brother's first term as a member of the Council (1876–1880), he was not a candidate for re-election; but in 1886 he was chosen in place of Henry Bradshaw. Your brother's appointment to be Provost in 1889 made him more than ever prominent in University affairs, and from 1886 to 1900 he retained his seat at the Council continuously. In the Council of the Senate, as I have known it intermittently since 1882 (though not, I have been told, in the Council as it was in the seventies), there has never been either ministry, or opposition, or party organisation; each member speaks for himself. But there are commonly some who, in virtue of experience of affairs, knowledge of University business, or other qualifications, exercise, not a domineering authority, but a personal influence. Your brother was such an one.

'But I doubt whether any of us fully appreciated his powers until 1893, when he became Vice-Chancellor. As you know, the Vice-Chancellor is *ex officio* Chairman of the Council of the Senate, of the

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Financial Board, of the General Board of Studies, and of all Syndicates whether permanent or occasional, and during his tenure of the office all University business comes under his hands. Your brother, who has himself described the Vice-Chancellor's duties in a chapter of Miss E. H. Pitcairn's "Unwritten Laws and Ideals of Active Careers," filled the post admirably. As Chairman of the Council he was excellent. He was scrupulously impartial. He was tactful and courteous. He was always prepared. He was quietly resourceful. He conducted business "smoothly, surely, effectively, and with much gentleness." I have known Vice-Chancellors who allowed themselves more initiative; and, personally, I see no reason why a Vice-Chancellor should not strike out a policy, and act as President rather than as Speaker. But I think that your brother took a somewhat different view of the office, and, though by no means deficient in initiative, repressed himself as Councillor that he might be the better Chairman. If so, it seemed to me that he was completely successful.

'Whether in the chair or out of it, he was always equitable, and his equity rested upon justice, knowledge, insight, and sympathy. At a time when the Commissioners' scheme for the taxation of the Colleges for University purposes had begun to press unduly upon the Foundations taxed, and schemes for their relief were under discussion, Henry Sidgwick

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once said to me, "Austen Leigh is Aristotle's equitable man;" and I remember that on Founder's Day last year, little thinking that we were so soon to lose him, I described him to the younger Kingsmen assembled in Junior "Combi" as "the most equitable of Vice-Chancellors."

'When he came to the end of his Vice-Chancellorship his position at the Council was greater than it had been before he took the first place. His retirement from the Council in 1900 was regretted both by his colleagues and by the University at large. Once we tried to persuade him to stand for re-election; but he refused absolutely. He had other things to do: and he was amply justified in his refusal; for he had served the University long and well. I was glad that two years ago he became a member of an occasional Syndicate of exceptional importance, which, without him, would have seemed to me, and, I think, to many, strangely incomplete. His last public appearance among us was when he spoke in support of the Syndicate's Report.

'Thus far I have confined myself strictly to the text which you proposed to me, and I have written only of your brother's services to the University. I hope that you will not think me indiscreet if I touch briefly on other matters.

'In the sixties it was my great good fortune to have many friends at King's. In this way I knew something about the changes which were then

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pending in the College, and I was to some degree in a position to appreciate the generosity and the public spirit shown by the Etonian Fellows in giving effect to the new Statutes. I rejoiced in the success of their efforts: and it seemed to me that your brother's tact and judgment had contributed largely to the happy result. The transformation of old King's, with its friendly domesticity, into new King's, with its healthy cosmopolitanism, was no small achievement: and I have sometimes thought that its magnitude would have been better understood if it had been less skilfully conducted. Thus thinking of the part which your brother took in the opening of the College, I have always rejoiced that it fell to him as Provost to carry out that extension of King's which he and his generation had promoted.

'In conclusion, I think you know how sincerely I valued your brother's friendship. Whenever I went to him for counsel, whether my business was public or private, I knew always that I should have from him a judgment which was sympathetic, wise, and equitable.

'Yours ever,

'HENRY JACKSON.'

Besides declining an offer to be nominated for re-election to the Council of the Senate, the Provost received, and mentions in his diary for January 22, 1901, a proposal made by 'the Council *minus* Heads,'

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that he should take the Vice-Chancellorship again for one year; and adds, 'I decline unless there is a *real* and *serious* difficulty; at present there is not.'

The administrative duties of a Vice-Chancellor by no means exhaust the requirements of that office. If any congress of a learned society is held at Cambridge he must, in some sense or other, represent the University; he must be ready to say something on subjects, perhaps, in the direction of which his mind has seldom travelled. If any distinguished strangers visit the place, their natural host is either the Vice-Chancellor or the Master of Trinity. Austen Leigh had no love for anything of pomp or form; indeed, if he could be said ever to neglect or shrink from any of the duties of a Head, it was in his unwillingness to exhibit himself as Provost of King's in set functions away from Cambridge that the defect was noticed. Hospitable and sociable as he was, he preferred small gatherings to large dinner parties; neat as he was, he paid but little attention to dress. He never went to Court, not thinking himself a man of sufficient importance to make his presence or absence a matter of interest to anybody. When he marched out of his own Chapel he escaped as quickly as possible from the verger carrying the mace in front of him; when he was in Eton Chapel he preferred a less distinguished place to the stall traditionally assigned to the Provost of the sister College. But on taking the Vice-Chancellorship he determined to

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fulfil all the requirements of the post, ceremonial as well as administrative, and he had a fund of quiet dignity which he could draw upon, when necessary.[1]

In the summer of 1894 he had the honour of entertaining at luncheon in the College Hall our present King and Queen, together with other members of the Royal Family. The meeting of the Royal Agricultural Society at Cambridge had been selected as a suitable occasion for conferring a degree upon the present Prince of Wales, then Duke of York. On June 26, after the completion of this ceremony, the party proceeded to King's Lodge, and thence to the Hall, where the guests numbered more than a hundred. 'No speeches,' he says, 'except that I proposed the Queen's health.' The royal party, who showed their usual gracious courtesy, returned to the Lodge before going away; but when the inevitable photograph at the door of the house ended the proceedings, host and hostess were invisible in the background.

These were years of great activity in the Cambridge University Musical Society. In 1891 a degree had been given to Dvorak, and the Provost, on

[1] A photograph taken by Palmer Clarke, Cambridge, represents the Vice-Chancellor opening a bazaar held at the Corn Exchange, October 31, 1893, for the purpose of raising funds towards the entertainment of the delegates at the High Court meeting of the Ancient Order of Foresters, which was to take place at Cambridge in the following August. The Court was duly held, and the 'High Chief Ranger' who presided was Mr. Walter Littlechild, the Chapel Clerk of King's. The Vice-Chancellor and another King's man (Mr. E. H. Parker, then Mayor) took their share in the entertainment of the delegates.

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behalf of the C.U.M.S., had presented him with his robes. In 1893 the Society—which, as we have seen, had celebrated Dr. Joachim's Jubilee four years earlier —determined now to celebrate their own. To invite composers of European fame to Cambridge, and to rely on the University to present them with degrees, seemed to Sir C. Villiers Stanford and the other authorities of the Society the most suitable way of marking the importance of this epoch. The two great veterans of music, Brahms and Verdi, who were first approached, proved to be immovably fixed in their respective countries. The Society were, however, successful in securing five distinguished representatives of five different nations, in MM. Saint-Saëns, Max Bruch, Tschaikowsky, Boïto, and Grieg. Austen Leigh was not yet Vice-Chancellor, but as a member of the Council he proposed their names for degrees. His motion was agreed to, and the composers all met at Cambridge, except Grieg, who had to defer his visit till the next year owing to ill-health.

Saint-Saëns, who was to stay at King's Lodge, rather shrank from doing so, on account of his imperfect knowledge of English. 'Vous savez,' he said, 'que je ne parle pas Anglais, sauf avec les cabmen et les waiters;' but he came, and enough French was provided to make him comfortable. The concert which followed, and at which each of the four composers either conducted or performed some music of his own, was probably unique in the

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musical history of England—certainly it was in that of Cambridge. Next year came M. Grieg, whose health had mended; and he also—with Madame Grieg—stayed at King's Lodge. The Provost was by this time Vice-Chancellor, and had to confer the degree. The composer, who had a spirit *corpore majorem*, had not been provided with a Mus.Doc. gown for the ceremony, and the only available one, which belonged to Dr. Alan Gray, was by no means suited to his stature. This gown was hastily flounced and pinned up in the background till it assumed a shape calculated to move the muscles even of the uninstructed male portion of the audience. The Vice-Chancellor preserved his gravity as long as he was in the Senate House, but he was much amused when his guest insisted on going straight to the post office to despatch a telegram. He knew well a (medical) Doctor Grieg at Bergen, and he had now become a (musical) Doctor himself. The message was, 'Doctor Grieg, Bergen, Norway. Kollega, jeg hilser Dem' ('Colleague, I greet thee').—'Doctor Grieg.' The Provost had by this time resigned his office in the C.U.M.S. into the capable hands of Mr. Sedley Taylor of Trinity College, and this was the end of his special activity in that direction.

There was another interesting royal visit to his house in 1900, when a degree was conferred on King Oscar of Sweden. The attractive personality of the monarch, joined to the fact that he was one of

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the few foreigners who sympathised with us in our South African troubles, made him a great favourite with the undergraduates, who followed him as he went from the Senate House to Trinity Lodge, and called loudly for a speech. 'They called, "Speak, speak,"' said the King afterwards, 'and I would have spoken, but I was not allowed.' He came on later to King's Chapel, where his poetical sensibility was shown by the gesture of astonishment and emotion with which he threw up his hands on first realising the grandeur and beauty of the building in which he was standing. Tea at the Lodge completed the proceedings, and the King, after making himself generally agreeable, drove off, while an enterprising undergraduate waved the Swedish flag over his head.

The Provost, as we have seen, declined to stand again for the Council after his period of office came to an end in 1900; but, whether on or off the Council, he took his part in the deliberations of the University, and perhaps he was never seen to greater advantage than when he was acting and speaking for a minority. With two instances of such action we will close the present chapter.

In the spring of 1898 the authorities of St. Edmund's House, a Roman Catholic institution for the training of students for the Priesthood, applied for the recognition of the House by the University as a 'public hostel.' The students, while at Cam-

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bridge, were to devote themselves to the secular studies of the University, going elsewhere for their strictly professional training. Nevertheless, the recognition of the institution was opposed, on the ground that it was a denominational hostel. Austen Leigh had no leaning whatever to the Church of Rome, but he conceived that both justice and expediency were on the side of the present demand, and he supported it in a closely reasoned fly-sheet. He showed that an English University does not exist merely for literary and scientific research; it 'has another duty to fulfil, that of educating men to do good service in Church and State; and from this point of view the existence of safeguards in religious teaching is not so unreasonable, especially if the tendency of the age is sceptical rather than dogmatic.' He showed that, on the one hand, students in a denominational hostel would share in the teaching and corporate life of the University; while, on the other, the idea that there could ever be many of such hostels was quite chimerical. The present claim was exceptionally strong; for the Founders of most of the existing Colleges had held and desired to perpetuate religious views much more akin to the tenets of modern Roman Catholics than to those of any others. 'Moreover, Roman Catholics form a numerous and important part of the Queen's subjects both at home and in the Colonies. If those who are hereafter to be in the position of parish priests, are

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brought under the influence of a Cambridge training, it is probable they will gain both in loyalty towards the Empire and in liberality of mind. To welcome such students here, therefore, is politic as well as just.' It was an abuse of terms to stigmatise the education they would receive as 'technical.' Even if they came to study Theology, such an epithet would be out of place. 'But, in fact, Theology is the one subject which the members of St. Edmund's House are *not* to study at Cambridge. They will come here for a liberal education, and to obtain such a training in literature and science as cannot be provided except at a University.' He regretted the strict rule of the Roman Church which separated the candidates for the Priesthood from lay students of the same community, but he still thought that their admission would be all to the good. In point of fact, his general view was that it was well for the University to find room for all varieties of religious thought, positive as well as negative; and well for the Roman Catholics that their Priests should gain some of the culture and breadth of thought which a University training fosters. He earned gratitude from the members of that Church. One of its leading laymen at Cambridge wrote, 'Your fly-sheet is in every way admirable.' But it had no effect on the majority. Possibly the limitation of the College to those who were to be Priests alienated a good many voters; anyhow, the combined forces of those

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who objected to denominational education in general, and those who objected to Roman Catholic education in particular, were sufficient to obtain the rejection of the Grace by 471 to 218.

Our other instance—that of the so-called 'Greek' Syndicate—shall be given in the words of Mr. Walter Durnford, who sat with the Provost both on the Syndicate itself, and on a small sub-syndicate for drafting the Report.

'Almost the last piece of University business undertaken by Augustus Austen Leigh was in connection with some relaxation in what is popularly known as "Compulsory Greek." In December 1903 the Council of the Senate, instigated by representations from various quarters, and especially by a letter written by the Chancellor of the University, determined to nominate a Syndicate to consider "what changes, if any, were expedient in the Studies and Examinations of the University." It was felt by many members of the Council that the Provost of King's should be one of the proposed Syndicate. It was no secret that he was in favour of some change in the present system by which all students are compelled to pass an examination in Greek in the Previous Examination, but even those on the Council who took a contrary view acquiesced in the appointment of one whose inflexible justice could not be gainsaid. The Syndicate was, not without ominous opposition, appointed by the Senate, and their work began in

January 1904. During the next two Terms their labours were constant, and in all the meetings and conferences with public bodies or individuals the Provost took a leading and most useful part. A sub-syndicate of which he was a member sat during the Long Vacation of 1904 to consider a draft Report, of which he was the author, and which was largely embodied in the Report of the Syndicate issued in the October Term 1904. In all the long and wearisome discussions which took place in the Syndicate between December 1903 and November 1904, no one was more useful, no one saw the crucial points more clearly, or strove more earnestly for what seemed a possible solution of the problem than Augustus Austen Leigh. He spoke in support of the Syndicate's Report in the Senate House in December 1904, but he did not live to see its decisive rejection by the Senate in February 1905.'

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CHAPTER XIV

LAST YEARS

In a letter written to a friend shortly before his election to the Provostship, Austen Leigh says, in reference to his various fly-sheets, 'Though I never published anything, I have had to pay a good many bills for printing what I wrote.' He certainly did hold out longer than many men of his knowledge and ability against the temptation to publish; but his day came at last. In 1897 he undertook to write a History of King's for a series of College Histories about to be published by Messrs. F. E. Robinson & Co., and the book came out in the summer of 1899. 'The book before us,' said the 'Times' in its notice, evidently written by somebody who knew him, 'has this added advantage, that the call to write it has induced the modest Provost to rush into print; which probably no other claim in the world would have made him do.' However this may be, we think most of those readers who care for College history will agree with the critic of the 'Outlook' who writes, 'We can honestly say we have found every page interesting, and felt most reluctant to put the book down.' He wrote easily and clearly,

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and could be serious without being dull, or cheerful without being flippant. He gave a coherent account of the sequence of College generations, and managed in some degree to revive by his descriptions that most fleeting and evanescent of all existences, the life of undergraduates at their University. There was no lack of authorities, for the College records had always been carefully kept, but they wanted a great deal of sifting and digesting. For the early part of the nineteenth century he had the advantage of using a MS. history written by the oldest Kingsman then living, which gave a description of life in the Old Court. But perhaps most useful of all were the Cole MSS. in the British Museum, to which the historian paid frequent visits. Cole was a learned and somewhat sharp-tongued antiquary of the eighteenth century, a Kingsman, who continued to live near Cambridge after he ceased to live in College, and who indulged in pungent criticisms of his contemporaries.

There is no doubt that, as the Provost got on with his work, an increased sense of the dignity of his task, and of the real distinction of his College (especially in its earlier days), grew upon him. Macaulay speaks of the 'degrading fate' of King's College and New College, in being tied each of them to a single school. No doubt it was not an ideal arrangement for producing breadth of view or variety of culture; but we must remember what the probable alternative was. A connection with one of the first schools of

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England, as the Provost observes, was not a bad exchange for county or borough Scholarships. And his history fairly shows that in its Reformers and Humanists, its Elizabethan Statesmen and Bishops, its Cavaliers and Roundheads, the College was capable of producing men of ability, force, and enterprise. Curiously enough, it was after they had successfully asserted a right to self-government that they began to decline. After the Revolution the Society succeeded in regaining the power of electing their own Provost, although the defeated Crown candidate was no less a person than Sir Isaac Newton. 'It is at least a remarkable coincidence,' says the Provost, 'that about this time the College ceased to hold the high place in the University which it had consistently maintained through the Tudor and Stuart periods.' The eighteenth century is not an agreeable period for a University historian to deal with; and he seems to have been vexed by the personal quarrels of that time, which managed generally to resolve themselves into differences between Whig and Tory. Writing to Mr. Hodgson (December 22, 1898) he says: 'I am now deep in Provost Snape's days, and find that the V.P. of that time, Dr. Willymott, is nearly as troublesome to me as he was to the College. The MS. letters which remain are interesting; but they are apt to leave off at the critical moment of the controversy. It is pretty evident that the Provost and Visitor had no high opinion of each other; but I

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suspect it was, in a great degree, a question of Tory *v.* Whig. And Bishop Reynolds does not seem to have been a light in his own diocese.'

Perhaps the darkest part of the night was that which preceded the dawn, in the early part of the nineteenth century, when Charles Simeon was surprised if any other Fellow were willing to walk with him. The Provost, however, for a characteristic reason, has hardly done justice to the great increase of moral and intellectual force which was brought about in the middle of the century by the internal reforms of Eton and King's. In one of his letters to Mr. Hodgson he says that his brother wants him to refer to the successes of King's Scholars from 1857 onwards. 'I don't like,' he adds, 'to do this, as it seems to be puffing one's own generation.' For a similar reason the last chapter, 'New King's,' is the least successful part of the work. In another letter to his friend he says, 'It seems to me, when I come to the period *after* 1861, I must be content with a bare skeleton of events. Even if there were no other difficulties, space would probably fail.' The chapter *is* rather too like a 'bare skeleton,' but the reason is that he could not give what would clothe it with flesh and blood—viz., an account of his own actions. A drama with the principal actor always off the stage must fail to please. He justly praises the conduct of William Churton during his very short tenure of the Tutorship; but the words which

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he uses are better fitted to describe his own work during a much longer period. 'It required,' he says, 'all his patience and all his unselfishness to disarm opposition, and to secure a fair field for the new venture.' It was the same fear of praising anything which he had had a share in producing which made him seem less enthusiastic and sanguine about the future of his College. He doubts whether King's has even yet regained the place in the University which it held in Elizabethan and in Stuart times, and ends with a warning of the probabilities of new dangers—or at least of old foes with new faces. Mr. Browning has noted this peculiarity of the Provost; but it cannot be too strongly stated that it was scrupulousness, and not want of enthusiasm, which dictated these utterances; and, as Mr. Browning has said, he was able to leave the note of anxiety entirely out of his last speech to the College, at the King's dinner in London, Christmas 1904.

The Provost was fully sensible of his responsibility as being, in a sense, guardian of a church of national importance, with its statutory incident of a Cathedral establishment. Whether the question before him concerned the spiritual import of the services, the improvement and well-being of the Choir, or the maintenance and embellishment of the fabric, he was always interested, active, and efficient. It has been already mentioned in an earlier chapter that, as long ago as in 1864, a scheme was started for

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placing a new Reredos in the Chapel. This was originally a private adventure of an eager body of young Fellows who shared in the aspirations and tastes of that period. They subscribed what was, for them, a considerable sum of money; enough to obtain plans from more than one distinguished architect, and eventually (after paying the cost of some preliminary work in the Chapel) to hand over a sum of upwards of 1,600*l*. to the College. Another fund had been started, also depending on private munificence but under the control of the College, and the union of the two funds enabled the Governing Body to get nearer to the execution of the scheme. The Provost took the matter up warmly. Perhaps he looked upon the task, in its later stages, as a legacy bequeathed him by his friend John Carter at his death in December 1899; for it was John Carter's enthusiasm which had founded the fund, and his perseverance which had kept the movement alive. It was now the energy of the Provost which collected from time to time a Committee partly composed of non-residents, and strove to find a common term between men of different tastes. By degrees men's views of what should be done became clearer, and something was actually accomplished. The decisions arrived at, not simultaneously, but in the course of long years, embraced the following points: (1) The woodwork put up by James Essex [1] in 1770–76 and

[1] This woodwork has not been destroyed; it now lines the passage between the Hall and the Combination Room.

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the large niches inserted by him on each side of the east window were to be removed; (2) the level of the floor and the steps were to be restored to what was believed to have been their original position, and the Altar Table brought forward from the east wall; (3) the Gothic woodwork to be removed was to be replaced by renaissance woodwork, the panels now occupying the walls east of the stalls being continued, and their effect heightened and refined by more delicate carving and by gilding; while behind the Altar would stand a central feature of statues between Corinthian columns. The Provost lived long enough to see the first two of these works accomplished; but, alas! his connection with the third can only consist in the fact that some part of it is to be placed in the Chapel as a special memorial to him.

We have left it until near the end to give some account of his work outside Cambridge, on the Governing Bodies of Eton and Winchester, on which he served for nearly the whole term of his Provostship. The latter part of the last century has provided a new outlet for the energies of intelligent Englishmen by the creation of these Councils, but it can only be the comparatively few who have the privilege, which the Provost enjoyed, of seeing the inner working of two such august bodies. Neither office was exactly of his own seeking. The Eton Governorship came to him by virtue of his position as Provost of the sister College; and when, in the

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autumn of 1890, the Council of the Senate made him the representative of the University on the Winchester Body, he had wished them to bestow the office elsewhere. Nevertheless, there was hardly any part of his work which interested him more, or which it was a greater enjoyment to him to discuss with anyone to whom he could speak freely. Of course his special devotion was reserved for his own school; but he had also a hereditary connection with Winchester, a school at which his father and his eldest brother had been educated, and where one of his nephews then was. Its name had been familiar to him from his infancy; and all his life long—except perhaps for a few minutes during an unfortunate cricket incident narrated in the account of his schoolboy career—he had cherished a warm affection for the place. He had, in fact, fallen under the spell which the beautiful old school seldom fails to cast over the imaginations even of casual visitors.

One great change in the Foundation of Winchester made during his tenure of office—though not, as will be seen, with his good-will—was the abolition of the Warden as a salaried resident Governor of the school, and the amalgamation of the office with that of the Chairman of the Governing Body. It was the first holder of the combined posts, Sir Kenneth Muir Mackenzie, who paid the following warm tribute to his memory in a speech delivered at King's on Founder's Day, December 6, 1905:—

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'I trust that it will not be thought unfitting that I should take this opportunity of a visit to this almost sacred place to say a few words relating to my dear friend and colleague, the late Provost of King's, in the relation which he bore to Winchester College.

'Of all places this is the last in which it is necessary to describe the remarkable and lovable characteristics of that *pœne divinus vir*; but serving as he did for many years on the Governing Body of Winchester, I cannot refrain from testifying in grateful terms to the value of that service. His knowledge of everything which bore upon all questions, both as to the school and as to the estates, was in some respects unique, combining, as he did, his experience of the affairs of King's and the management of Eton, which was at every point analogous to our operations at Winchester. His methods and his influence were also in many respects unique. As a distinguished [1] colleague present here to-night has said, he had a way of going for the points of agreement among his fellow-workers, which was eminently helpful. Where he saw objections he respected them as stumbling-blocks to others; he did not fear them nor shrink from meeting them. Oh that more men realised the force that there is in the combination of sweetness and strength! Philistines were they who could not answer Samson's riddle, "Out of the strong came forth sweetness."

'I know not what were the Provost's politics in

[1] Dr. Henry Jackson.

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this University; to us at Winchester his attitude was that of a Conservative, especially as regards all characteristic institutions, subject always to that sound sense and reasonableness, and to that loyalty towards *res judicatæ* which added so much to his excellence as a working colleague. In connection with this it may interest some to mention that he opposed from first to last the changes which were intended and the actual changes which were made in the office of Warden. Perhaps I may fall into the same condemnation as Mr. Bernard Shaw, if I compare the non-resident Warden unfavourably with the foxes which have holes, and the birds of the air which have nests. But everyone will recognise Augustus Leigh when I state with gratitude that, when the battle was over, no one was so ready as he with a welcome and approval to the first holder of the new office.'

Very similar is the account given by his other Chairman, the Provost of Eton, in a memorandum which he has addressed to the Editor:—

'He brought with him,' says Dr. Hornby, 'in addition to very high and attractive personal qualities, some exceptional advantages of experience, both from his long and intimate acquaintance with the affairs of the sister College, and from the knowledge which he was then gaining as a member of the Governing Body of Winchester, to say nothing of his close acquaintance with Eton, and of his sincere affection for his old school. This knowledge of systems, in

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some measure akin to that of Eton, was always at our service, and was at times very helpful in supplying us with the guidance of precedents, favourable or adverse, when some introduction of new methods or some modification of old school usages was under discussion. I remember cases in which he was able to save us from embarking on a doubtful project, or encourage us to begin a needful reform, by producing the results of similar experiments at Cambridge or at Winchester. In regard to educational questions, though very liberal in regard to meeting modern requirements, and by no means stiff in his adherence to old methods and usages, he had, I think, a very strong appreciation of the value of the old classical system, and a belief—not indeed in its all-sufficiency—but certainly in its pre-eminent advantages, as a groundwork of a liberal education. This did not interfere with his readiness to give a fair trial to changes involving considerable curtailment of the older studies, nor to his belief that concessions were necessary; but I doubt whether he expected that such changes would result in giving a better equipment for the work of after life than the old system worked at its best. On these points, however, I speak with great diffidence, as the discussion of such questions rarely, if ever, came before us on a simple issue, or in the direct form of deciding what was abstractedly best, but under mixed conditions involving considerations at once of what was possible

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with existing means, and what was due to the Head-master's initiative, and the duty of giving him all possible support.

'In regard to College business—in which he was always most diligent and helpful—he showed some very marked characteristics. With great clearness of head, and a methodical habit of mind, he made a great point of exactitude in procedure—not in the sense of vexatious insistence on trifles—but certainly in a very precise and even punctilious regard to points of order and precedent, calling attention to established forms, fastening on any semblance of ambiguity or inaccuracy in a regulation or a minute, and showing great readiness in providing a more careful and exact wording to meet the difficulty. This punctiliousness, though sometimes, I think, regarded with a little impatience, was a very useful discipline for us all, especially for the Chairman, and was made easy by his unfailing gentleness, consideration, and kindness, not without a touch of humour, which prevented him from being didactic or tedious, and which sometimes brought from him a burst of characteristic laughter at the enunciation of some unusually quaint or ponderous formula.

'But the chief point, and that which most readily suggests itself, in any review of his intercourse with us, is the confidence which he inspired, and the attraction which he exercised, by the combination of great intellectual acuteness with the calm judgment,

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the sweet temper, the never-failing courtesy, and the absolute honesty and singleness of aim, which he carried into every action and purpose. He had, I think, in a singular degree, the power of conciliating opposition, and of drawing men of different dispositions into harmony, if not into agreement; and, though in the intercouse of a body like ours, the scope for exercising these gifts was necessarily small, as compared with what it is in the complex and intimate relations of College life, it was not unexercised or unfelt. It was a great privilege to see so much of him as I did of late years, to receive such help from his counsel, to learn so much from his example, and to have had experience of such pleasant intercourse, and of a kindness which I can never forget.'

Eton and King's have, of course, the same Founder's Day; but when December 6 falls on a Sunday it is arranged that its celebration at the two Colleges shall be on different days, to allow for a free interchange of hospitality. On December 5, 1903, Austen Leigh was dining at Eton and made a speech of which he afterwards wrote down some reminiscences at the request of his wife. These notes are worth quoting, as they show at once his love for the place, and his sense of the necessity of reform.

'If I may follow the example of certain newspapers and recall what happened a hundred years ago, I might ask you to imagine that Provost Davies was sitting in the Provost of Eton's chair, and that

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my place was occupied by Provost Sumner. Davies was celebrated for his stentorian voice; Sumner for being very deaf; "knowledge at one entrance" was "half shut out;" and what was left inside is said not to have been very considerable. But we all know that a College does not depend for its success on its Head; and though Sumner may not have been a brilliant personage, he would have brought with him men of more distinction. These might have been Charles Simeon, who (considering his habits) would probably have ridden on horseback all the way from Cambridge; Harry Drury, who had not yet begun his successful career as a Harrow Master; and a more distinguished Sumner—John Bird (the future Archbishop)—would have been in the Hall as a young Assistant Master, who had just vacated his Fellowship by marriage. And if, as they sat at dinner, they discussed the names of promising boys then in College, mention would certainly have been made of Stratford Canning and Lonsdale. I remind you of these names because it is sometimes forgotten that even in those days there were men of light and leading in King's College. But we need not go so far back to realise the change which, as Dr. Warre has said, has taken place in King's. Nor is it in King's only. You, Mr. Provost, can remember a very different Eton; the Eton of Montem and Long Chamber; of large divisions and narrow studies; and you have lived to see an Eton, in which new

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boarding houses are growing up every year; an Eton of some sixty Masters and only one Dame; where in the competition of studies it is becoming difficult for Greek and Latin to hold their own. And I can recollect what King's College was, rather more than forty years ago—a College of twelve or fifteen Scholars, and perhaps half a dozen or rather more resident Fellows, who for the most part did not seem to have much to do. Their ideal of life seemed to be satisfied with the verse which we hear read at a Commemoration Service: "Rich men, furnished with ability, living peaceably in their habitations." How different is the King's of the present day! More than thirty resident Fellows (four of them Professors of the University) and nearly a hundred and fifty undergraduates. And to show how various are the occupations of the undergraduates, I may tell you that in the past year they gained Honours in seven different Triposes; that the last Etonian whom we elected to a Fellowship was elected for his proficiency in Music; and that the last Eton Scholar was chosen for his promise in quite a new subject—Mechanics and Engineering. Yet it will be a satisfaction to some of us to know that the latest distinction achieved by two Scholars of King's was by their taking the two principal parts in the Greek Play. As Greek was practically introduced into Cambridge studies by a Fellow[1] of King's, it is only

[1] Richard Croke. See *History of King's*, pp. 37–39.

right that we should be the last College to allow the language to fall into the background. Now, I think that the change in King's was necessary to preserve the connection with a changed Eton. Had we continued to offer only a cheaply won Scholarship and a Life Fellowship with no duties, we should have failed to attract the boys whom you educate here now. We must make our College one which it will be an object of their ambition to enter.'

There was no doubt either of his affection for Eton, or of his belief in the advantage which King's gained by its connection with the school. It would have been difficult for him to feel any hesitation on the latter point, for he must have remembered with gratitude the high standard of work and conduct impressed upon the opening College by the unusually brilliant set of Eton Scholars who came up while he was Tutor—a set which produced three Senior Classics in four years, and comprised a good many men who have since gained distinction as Bishops, lawyers, writers, or teachers. But his affection was not one-sided. The old pupils who have been good enough to write their recollections for the Editor seem generally to have two main ideas about him: (1) that he was absolutely impartial; (2) that he was particularly kind to the writer. It was the same combination of sweetness and justice, of warm heart and well-balanced mind, which enabled him to put side by side his love for his old school, and his desire

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for the development of King's; to cling to the old and at the same time to welcome the new.

His release in 1900 from serving on the Council of the Senate made it easier for him to undertake two new duties. The Chairmanship of the Cambridge Committee of the Cambridge House in South London was not a very laborious affair. He no doubt valued it chiefly as a means of showing openly his sympathy with a movement of which he thoroughly approved.

Much more engrossing and difficult was his work in connection with Addenbrooke's Hospital. In 1901, when he first took part in the management of this institution, its government was in a state of transition. It had been decided to abandon the old system of open weekly Boards, and to substitute some sort of elective Body. The 'Advisory Council,' on which he first served, was, in the words of Mr. C. R. Adeane of Babraham, who had a great share in its establishment, 'never intended to be a permanent Body, but to fill up the gap until an Act of Parliament could be passed which would enable the Hospital to have a responsible executive Board set up.' For this purpose it was necessary that a scheme should be prepared by the Charity Commissioners, and sanctioned by Parliament. The Act confirming the scheme was passed in 1903; and the Provost (who had been Chairman of the Advisory Council in 1902) now became the first Chairman of the 'General

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Committee' established under the Act—a Committee consisting of twenty-four elected members, Borough, County, and University being each represented by eight. How his work appeared to another leading member of the Board will be seen in the following extracts taken out of a letter addressed to the Editor by Mr. Adeane. 'Your brother,' he says, 'from the first showed the greatest sympathy with the movement, and helped enormously by his kind and courteous manner, by his ability, and by the position he held in the University—and, I would add, by the respect in which he was held in the town and county —to smooth over difficulties and help on the different reforms which were necessary. . . . I well remember the last time when I met him only a few days before his death. It was on the occasion of the presentation of a piece of plate to Mr. Bonnett, on his retirement from the office of Secretary. His speech was perfect, full of that delicate feeling which is so much appreciated by those on whose behalf the presentation is made, and also by the recipient. . . . I don't know what more you can say of a man than that he was held by all his colleagues as a friend.'

Besides the important change in the method of governing the Hospital mentioned above, several improvements were introduced while the Provost was on the Board; such as the installation of electric light, the arrangement for an uniform system of accounts, the starting of Lupus Light treatment, and

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the introduction of a more economical division of the duties of the officers. During his Chairmanship provision was made for small payments by out-patients for medicines and surgical dressings—a plan which only one or two of the great London hospitals have as yet adopted. What he did for the Hospital furnishes a good example of that practical sagacity which enabled him to take an efficient part in new work lying quite outside the range of his previous experience.

Meanwhile the life of hospitality at the Lodge went on, undiminished, till the end. The members of the families of both husband and wife were frequent guests, and delighted in their visits. The Provost had a positive genius for fulfilling the duties of an uncle; and outside the limits of his own family there were many young people who looked even upon him as one of their best friends. He retained to the end a buoyancy of spirit and a perpetual spring of youthfulness which corresponded to their own, and fitted him admirably for acting as their comrade. They knew that they were welcome, and that there was nothing which host and hostess liked better than to scheme for their amusement at home and abroad. Indoors he had the advantage not only of a cheerful disposition and bright, sunny manner, but also of a love and aptitude for all quiet games such as chess and whist; and he was an adept at writing such epigrammatic verses as are suitable for

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bouts rimés, anagrams, &c. Out of doors his great sympathy for athletic sports of every sort stood him in good stead as an entertainer of youth. He had himself kept up the practice of games as long as he could; and he remained a devoted spectator of those which required more youth and strength than he could command. Tennis he played till nearly the end. When the last new Tennis Court at Cambridge was opened in 1890, he and Mr. Ewbank of Clare played the first game in it; and a frequent entry in his diary, even in the busiest times, is 'Tennis with Jim.'[1] Golf he soon gave up, not being satisfied with his performances at it. He took to bicycling, and, on such rare occasions as our climate affords, showed great skill and grace in skating. The day before his death he had walked to see whether the ice could be used.

His relations with the undergraduates remained as close as before. In a memorandum written for the Editor, Mr. H. W. V. Temperley, till lately a Scholar of King's but now Fellow of Peterhouse, speaks of the eager interest which the Provost displayed in the pursuits of the undergraduates, and 'the gentle and indefinable influence he exercised upon them.' He then mentions two kindnesses bestowed upon himself—one, a visit after a football accident— the other 'a long discussion with me upon an essay of mine, concerned with a highly technical subject, in which I never found anyone else but

[1] Mr. James Harradine, the much-respected keeper of the Trinity and Clare Tennis Courts, a life-long friend of the Provost.

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specialised experts to display the slightest interest,' and goes on:

'He strove to understand the energies and enthusiasms of undergraduate life, and it was his aim, above everything, to make each undergraduate in the College realise that he stood to him in the light of a personal friend. . . . The letters which the Provost wrote—in his official capacity and otherwise—to undergraduates were characteristic. Though burdened with an immense correspondence, he was wonderfully prompt in replying even to the most trivial requests. He contrived by the refinement of his style to impart an interest, by no means their own, to the most practical matters or to the dreariest official details. When writing in a more intimate and personal manner, his correspondence was always marked by an excellent courtesy, and at times enlivened by a delicate sense of humour.' Mr. Temperley then speaks of the 'absolute fairness, candour, and impartiality of his mind,' and remarks how these qualities showed themselves when he took the chair at meetings at which undergraduates were present. 'His action secured that every different view should be heard, and that the variations in opinion should be carefully presented for the decision of the meeting. Nothing could exceed the neutrality and moderation of his attitude as Chairman in the discussion of subjects on which his own views were clear and pronounced. The qualities of

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unswerving rectitude and absolute impartiality were then revealed to us, in a manner and with a force hitherto unsuspected.'

At Christmas 1904 the Provost appeared to be in full health and vigour; indeed, had it occurred to any of those nearest to him to think about the matter at all, they would no doubt have predicted for him a long life, and a healthy old age. There was a large family party at the Lodge, for whose amusement host and hostess were as active and thoughtful as ever. They took their own holiday, as usual, after the festival was over, paying two visits in the South. At Lord Tennyson's in the Isle of Wight they met Sir Alfred Lyall and Mr. Henry Butcher. On Saturday, January 14, 1905, the Provost returned to Cambridge, where a full share of work was awaiting him. At the Hospital he had to take part in the election of a Matron, and to make the speech already mentioned in honour of a retiring officer. In College he had to read over a Fellowship Dissertation, and to entertain two candidates for a vacant Living. The Greek Syndicate was active, and he attended a two-hours meeting of it on Tuesday the 24th. The coming appointment of a Headmaster for Eton was beginning to cast a shadow across his path, and on Wednesday the 25th he went to London for a meeting of the Winchester Governing Body. Those who were there describe him as seeming bright and ready to talk, 'full of eagerness

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and high spirits, and consideration for others as ever.' Meanwhile his wife had returned to Cambridge; and on Friday the 27th the last of their many guests left the Lodge.

When he got up on the morning of Saturday, January 28, he was seized with a pain in the heart, and Dr. Bradbury was at once summoned. He pronounced it to be angina pectoris; not, as he believed, an immediately dangerous attack, but likely to require care for some time to come. The actual organs of the heart, which he at once examined, he found to be quite sound. Speaking after the event, he was inclined to think that some sudden movement of a clot of blood to the heart must have been the cause of death. Though the pain did not pass away, the Provost, who remained upstairs, managed to employ himself. He had still two little pieces of work to do for University and College. A meeting was being held at St. John's to celebrate the eightieth birthday of the veteran Professor Mayor, and the Provost addressed to him his last letter in the following words:—

'My dear Professor Mayor,—I fully meant to take part in the meeting which is to be held in your honour this afternoon; but I am ill and not allowed to leave the house. Please accept my heartiest good wishes.

'Yours sincerely,

'A. Austen Leigh.'

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The College seal was required that day, and his keys must be used to unlock its case. He could not be satisfied till he had done what proved to be his last little service for his College by procuring them, at some inconvenience to himself. This done he settled down to one of his favourite employments, a game of chess with his wife. We give her own words :—

'Chess is a game that has become sacred to those nearest to Augustus, for about an hour before he passed away—so suddenly—he asked for the chessmen, played a game with much interest, and afterwards asked that the board might be left out as he wished to play again. A few minutes later, as he was sitting quietly in his chair, "God's finger touch'd him and he slept."'

His wife, who had been constantly with him during the day, had left the room for a short time to write a letter, little thinking there was any immediate danger in his state; for neither he nor anybody else knew that he had any weakness of the heart (and perhaps he had none) before this attack. His butler, coming up to find out whether the tea was wanted, saw the Provost, as he believed, asleep in his chair; but she, soon following him, discovered at once that it was the sleep of death—a death which, as far as could be judged, must have come suddenly, without a struggle, without any previous knowledge, without any searchings of heart for

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himself or others; a death which, however terrible from its suddenness to those near him, to himself must be accounted a blessing, which he—if any man—had deserved.

Of the impression produced at Cambridge by this event it will be best to speak in the words of others. The Dean of Ely was at that time preaching before the University as Hulsean Lecturer. Only a week earlier he had met the Provost at dinner at Queens' Lodge. He now began his Lecture, on Sunday afternoon, January 29, with the following touching tribute to his memory:—

'It seems fitting that, before I commence my Lecture this afternoon, some word, however simple, should be said from the pulpit expressive of the sorrow and the sadness which has fallen upon this University by the death last night of the Provost of King's. The sudden hush of solemnity and quietude which fell upon many happy throngs of men gathered in College Halls last night as the message spread swiftly from place to place was some measure not only of the shock of sadness and surprise with which we heard the news, but also of the universal feeling of respect and love in which Mr. Austen Leigh was held by all who knew him.' He went on to mention some of the Provost's high qualities, and added: 'I remember some years ago to have been shown in a little New England churchyard the grave of a wife and mother, on the tombstone of which, in addition to

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the name and date of birth and death, there were these simple words: "She was so pleasant." I would venture to say that of Austen Leigh. He was so pleasant—pleasant to all of us, with that quiet, unobtrusive charm of self-forgetfulness which belongs always to the true gentleman who is also a companion of the King of Patience, of Jesus Christ.'

The same day the Master of Trinity was preaching in his own Chapel. He spoke of the meeting held the day before to celebrate the eightieth birthday of Professor Mayor, and of the presence there of a venerable Head, six years senior to Mayor, and added: 'One eminent Head of a College, rarely absent from any function of duty or of friendship, was not among us, and we had scarcely returned to our respective Colleges, full, I am sure, of kindly, brotherly, and what I might call inter-collegiate and almost international thoughts of sympathy, when we learnt that, only an hour or two before, the beloved Provost of King's had passed away.' He then spoke some words of his friend's 'beneficent career,' and of what he had effected for his College, but said that 'to-day, and for many days to come, all who knew him will be thinking rather of the gifts that made him loved even more than prized or respected, the sweet temper, the perfect manners, the generous, chivalrous, brotherly spirit that, by a high-born instinct, imputes always the best, not the worst.' . . . 'My friends,' he added, 'we are suffering a great loss, greater than

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most of you can imagine. It will be felt far and wide when to-morrow's papers reveal it. A gentle, a genial, a knightly, a truly Christian spirit has been taken from us by the sudden death of Augustus Austen Leigh.' At a very different stage of University life, one of the youngest Scholars of King's tells us of the individual sense of loss felt by the undergraduates: 'But if the individual loss was great, the loss of the community was greater still. We were without our leader; the strong man had gone. We knew that there had never been a Provost at King's who had loved the College more; and we had felt—even those who had only just come up—that in him we had a man of broad-hearted sympathies, and a ruler sane and just. It was little wonder that the news of his passing away was received with feelings of genuine sorrow.'

The family of the Provost have good reason to cherish an affectionate gratitude for the conduct and demeanour of those round them at this time. A solemn stillness seemed to reign over the College; the undergraduates went silently to their work, and postponed their games; their elders, as far as delicacy allowed, were eager with help and sympathy. Their sympathy was, of course, intended first and mainly for the wife whose unbroken happiness of sixteen years had been so suddenly interrupted, but the other members of the family had also their share; and if one of them had to go into the town, he would

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be surprised at the additional respect shown him by all classes, because he belonged to the Provost.

The day of the funeral, Wednesday, February 1, was calm and beautiful; and if an impressive service can give comfort—and over many of us it has a great power—the mourners present had this consolation in the highest degree. The vast concourse of educated men—the simple but exquisite music—the evident feeling of all who took part in the service (from the Bishop of Winchester, who read the Lesson, down to the youngest Choir boy) were things worthy of a grateful remembrance. A good many of those present proceeded afterwards to Grantchester Churchyard, for the last part of the service, conducted by the Master of Magdalene and Mr. A. E. Brooke, where, after the Choir had ceased, the birds sang over the open grave with a promise of spring; and where in one corner, side by side, stood the ever faithful Master of Trinity, and the great Greek Professor who was so soon to follow his friend the Provost into the land of silence.

So much has been said already about the Provost's character, that if a consistent impression has not been produced, it is hopeless to attempt it. Yet, at the risk of wearying the reader, a few sentences must be added, taken out of the many that were written after his death by friends of long standing. They are given anonymously, though the names would increase their weight:—

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'He had a singular gift of holding men together, of being able to work with all, while never keeping back any shade of any opinion. Such a leaven in a College or University is priceless.'

'I remember years ago saying deliberately to someone that he was the best man I had ever met.'

'One of those happy souls of whom we feel instinctively that everything pure, noble, and generous is part of its nature, no more to be separated from it than its life and being.'

'I can never forget him, for I have never met anything like that beautiful delicacy and fineness of temper.'

'In thinking of him we have never to say "but," for we know that what he did was sure to be kind and wise.'

'For the last twenty years I have constantly found myself testing my conduct by reference to his unconscious approval. So greatly did the few years which I had the happiness to spend under his control impress me with his high example.'

'Surely no one was ever so lovable as boy or man, so good, so unselfish, so full of love.'

Augustus Austen Leigh was upwards of sixty-four years old when he died, but he showed few signs of advancing age, except the loss of hair. His face was fresh and young-looking, his figure upright, his step elastic, his voice clear; and that his mind retained its full vigour has, we think, already been shown.

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His character and disposition had changed as little as his mental powers, and even less than his bodily activity. Constancy was its note. He never faltered in his religion; he never faltered in his love for home, friends, College, or School; he never faltered in his own high standard, at which he easily believed that others also were aiming. For himself, he never doubted where his path of duty lay. He had made the performance of one great work his object, facing the discouragements of early days with patient hopefulness, and watching with thankfulness, but without elation, subsequent advance and success.

For all that one attempts to say, however, it is difficult to feel that the picture of a living man has been drawn, so that those who did not know him may have a clear idea of his personality. The virtues which extort admiration may be enumerated; but it is far more difficult to describe the attractive qualities which conciliate affection. The flower may be painted; but who shall depict its fragrance? It is the sunny smile, the eager sympathy, the effacement of self, the readiness to help, the constancy of disposition making you sure that the man will be the same (both in himself and to you) after years of absence: it is these and things like these which make up the man whom we have known and loved. Even little individual habits, tricks of voice and gesture, contribute something to the completion of the picture. Those who remember the late Provost—it seems but

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the other day—walking along by the riverside between prayers and breakfast, giving a run to his Aberdeen terrier 'Mac'; or on his knees before the drawing-room fire, endeavouring to coax the same imperious favourite into good humour; or hurrying in cap and gown across the court to a meeting, for which he would in any case arrive rather too soon, yet not hurrying so much as to be unable to greet with smile and word any acquaintance he might meet; or laughing heartily, with his own peculiar laugh, at someone else's joke, and then turning with sudden change of thought and countenance to show genuine sympathy for some tale of woe told by a third person;—those who have heard and seen these things so recently will hardly believe that they are not to happen again to-morrow.

These little traits are incommunicable; but, to those who recollect them, they add a charm of tender humanity to his deeper and more essential characteristics. This imperfect sketch will not have been written in vain, if it helps in any degree to preserve the memory of a man who devoted all his best years to the service of his College and his University, and who asked of life nothing better than opportunities to promote their highest and most enduring interests.

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